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Archie P. McDonald, Executive Director and Editor
STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY P.O. BOX 6223
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BOOKS REVIEWED

TEXAS AND THE WORLD FAIRS, 1851-1935

by Edward Hake Phillips

As Texans approach the Sesquicentennial of the founding of the Lone Star Republic, they are showing more and more interest in the Texas Centennial of 1936 and the two great Fairs held to commemorate that event. Equally interesting and instructive, however, is the experience Texans had in participating in World Fairs long before they staged their own extravaganzas.

At the turn of the century, Finley Peter Dunne's apocryphal Irish bartender, Mr. Dooley, took a realistic view of World Fairs. When asked by his friend, Hennessy, "Why do they get them up?" Dooley replied: "They get thim up f'r th' advancement iv thought an' th' gate receipts ... But they're run f'r a good time an' a deficit."[1]

Beginning with the London Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851, Texans, as visitors and exhibitors, have partaken of the good times and deficits of the various World Fairs, deriving an "advancement iv thought" and culture and spreading a significant image of Texas to the world.

Handicapped at first by the remoteness of its location, the poverty of its American Civil War and Reconstruction ordeal, and the restrictions of its rigid Constitution, Texas played only a modest role at the great Fairs of the nineteenth century, with one notable exception, the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. In the twentieth century, as petroleum enriched the Lone Star State, Texas participated more substantially and even staged its own gigantic birthday parties, the Texas Centennial and San Antonio's HemisFair '68.

The London Crystal Palace Exposition was the granddaddy of all modern World Fairs. It is surprising that such a young, frontier state as Texas was represented at all at this Fair, yet "two very common Barrells" from Texas created quite a stir. They contained a new product, dried meat biscuits, invented by an ingenious Texas patriot, Gail Borden. They were exhibited at the Crystal Palace by Borden's partner and agent, Dr. Ashbel Smith, one of Texas' most versatile and remarkable men. The biscuits won a gold medal for Borden and soon were put to use in the Crimean War.[2] Smith's keen mind must have been stimulated by the wonders exhibited in the great Crystal Palace, for upon his return to Texas he organized the first Texas fair, which opened at Corpus Christi in 1852 with Smith as general manager. In 1876 Smith participated in the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia as one of the award judges, and in 1878 he attended the World's Exposition at Paris as honorary commissioner from Texas. One wonders how much these stimulating experiences at the World

Edward Hake Phillips is from Sherman, Texas.

Fairs had on this statesman-scholar who played such a large role in founding the Univesity of Texas.[3] Another exhibit that gained international attention at the Crystal Palace in 1851 was Samuel Colt's revolver, the Colt .45, which the Texas Rangers, especially Samuel Walker, had had considerable part in developing.[4]

The success of the London Exposition touched off a series of imitations throughout the world. It was inevitable that France would attempt to outdo its English rival, and before the century was over Paris had five great Fairs to its credit. Texas had no official exhibits at any of these Fairs, but several private citizens provided distinguished representation for the state. At the Paris Fair of 1868 a young lady of exceptional talent who was soon to become a Texan exhibited several fine pieces of sculpture, a bust of Garibaldi and a bust of the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. This sculptress was Elisabet Ney, who two years later accompanied her husband, Dr. Edmund Montgomery, to America and soon thereafter settled near Hempstead, Texas, later maintaining a house and studio in Austin. She would be heard from again at later Fairs.[5] Exhibiting at the Paris Exposition of 1889 was Thomas Volney Munson of Denison, one of the foremost viticulturalists in the world. This authority on grape species, who did so much to save the grape and wine industries of France that he was awarded the Legion of Honor, presented a noteworthy display of Texas grapevine specimens at the Fair and won a silver Medal.[6] At the Paris Exposition of 1900 Texas was represented by an outstanding painter, Stephen Seymour Thomas, a native of San Augustine who had settled in Paris. Thomas won a bronze medal at the Fair for the portrait of his wife, "Lady in Brown," which hung in the Grand Palais des Beaux-Arts.[7] At that great fair over eighty Texas individuals or firms exhibited their products, especially cotton and grains as well as pecans, coal, and granite.[8]

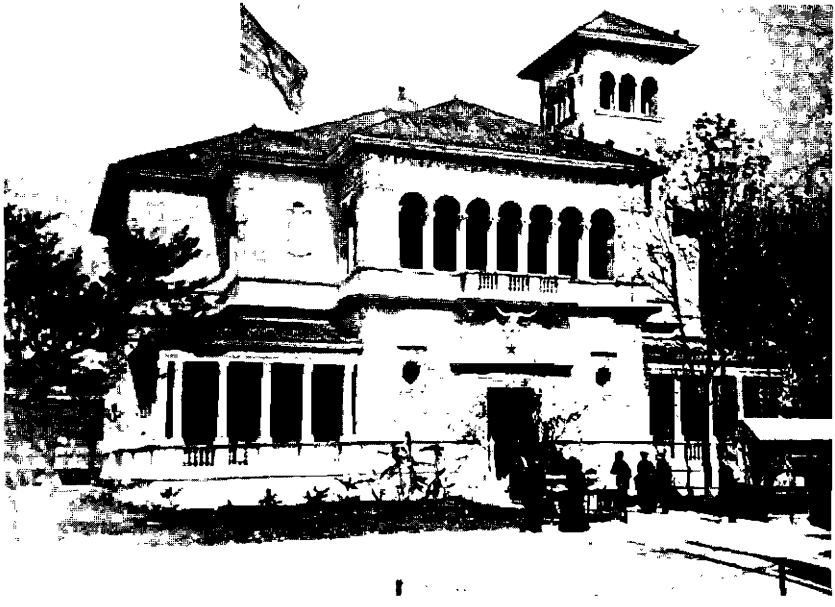
For the most part Europe was too far for heavy Texas participation in the great Fairs, but in the United States it was a different story. The Centennial of the United States was the occasion of the first large American Fair, the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876. A number of states appropriated or raised money for substantial exhibits at this Fair, including a number of state buildings. Most of the Southern states, still reeling from the bitter, grinding effects of Reconstruction, passed up this opportunity. The fifteenth Legislature refused to make an appropriation for the representation of Texas at Philadelphia, but a number of private groups such as the United Confederate Veterans and the Knights Templar attended the Fair from Texas under the inducements of special excursion rates by the railroads.[9] One of the exhibits at the Fair became a Texas heirloom, for in 1887 Walter Gresham installed a prize-winning mantle from the Centennial Fair in his new palatial home, the "Bishop's Palace,"

in Galveston.[10]

By 1884 the spirit of the New South encouraged dynamic commercial growth and the promotion of the resources and opportunities of the Southland. Out of this movement grew several large Expositions, particularly the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial at New Orleans, 1884-5, and the Atlanta Exposition of 1895-6. The proximity of New Orleans and the interest of Texas in the commercial development of the South caused Texans to take a sizable interest in the New Orleans Fair. The Eighteenth Legislature repudiated the strict construction of its predecessors and read the State Constitution liberally enough to authorize an expenditure of $20,000 "to assemble ... and maintain ... an exhibit of resources, etc., of Texas ..."[11] Colonel Henry Exall, a leading cattleman and banker of Dallas, was named "Vice-President for Texas to the Cotton Centennial," and he returned so enthused over the value of great Fairs as to help found and later head (1889) the State Fair of Texas.[12] Among Texans exhibiting at the New Orleans Fair were T.V. Munson, with another of his fine botanical exhibits, Anna Dial Hearne, one of the cultural leaders of Austin whose paintings won for her a gold medal, and Stephen Seymour Thomas, then only sixteen years old, who exhibited his remarkable painting, "San Jose Mission," which he raffled off to finance his first formal training in art.[13]

Although the State government of Texas did not appropriate funds for the other great Cotton States and International Exposition at Atlanta in 1895-6, a number of Texans, especially from the Galveston area, strongly supported the Fair and helped to persuade the Federal Government to appropriate $200,000 for the Exposition.[14]

Texas' main effort in the Fairs of the 1890s was its remarkable showing at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. This Fair caught the nation's fancy as no other Fair before or since, and not only were Texans attracted to it in great numbers, but Texas came forth with a fine exhibit. Although the Legislature and Governor Hogg read the Constitution too strictly to find a loophold for State financial aid, a gallant effort was made with the Governor's blessing to raise the money from private sources. Businesses, women's clubs, school children, all rallied to the campaign that was conducted primarily by the Texas World's Fair Commission and its Women's Association, headed by Mrs. Benedette B. Tobin, a most active civic leader and artist from Austin. Over $30,000 was raised, enough to finance a large, handsome building and to provide for a number of fine exhibits.[15] The Texas building was designed by a rising young architect of San Antonio, J. Riely Gordon, whose achievements were later to number more than sixty courthouses, including fifteen in Texas, and the state capitol buildings of Arizona, Montana, and Mississippi.[16] Over the entrance of the building was a symbolic pair



Texas Building at the World's Fair Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It was designed by J. Riely Gordon of San Antonio.

of Longhorns and inside was an impressive carved figure of Sam Houston. The latter was the work of Elisabet Ney, who had sunk into obscurity in Texas until her career was renewed by the opportunity of exhibiting at the World's Columbian Exposition. The Texas World's Fair Commission, under the urging of Mrs. Tobin and former Governor O.M. Roberts, commissioned Miss Ney to do two figures for the Texas exhibit, one of Sam Houston and the other of Stephen F. Austin. The latter figure was not finished in time for the Fair, but both figures later were placed in the State Capitol and replicas are in the National Capitol.[17]

Also exhibited in the Texas Building was a huge questrian portrait of General Houston which had been painted the previous year by Stephen Seymour Thomas. Later the painting was taken to France by the artist where it had a "place of honor in the French 'Salon,'" but in 1920 Thomas donated it to the city of Houston where it created something of a problem because of its huge size (10' x 14'). After hanging in the University Club, the Fine Arts Museum, and the Public Library, the painting found a permanent home in 1951 at the San Jacinto Monument.[18] Another painting of note in the Texas Building was Louis Eyth's "The Speech of Travis to His Men at the Alamo." This painting by Eyth has been lost, but a copy of it is in the Daughters of the Republic of Texas Library in San Antonio.[19]

Texans also were exhibiting in other buildings at the Fair. Seymour Thomas' painting, "The Innocent Victim," displayed in the

Fine Arts Building, won a medal, Mrs. Tobin exhibited a number of her works of art in the Women's Building, and Frank Reaugh, a brilliant young artist of the Texas range, made his first national impact at the Fair.[20] Thomas V. Munson had an outstanding viticultural exhibit, said to be "the most complete botanical display of the whole grape genus ever made."[21] Some red snappers and croakers from Galveston Bay splashed merrily in the tanks of the Fisheries Building, and "cowboys from Texas" performed daily in "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show that stood just outside the Midway.[22]

"Texas Day" at the Fair was celebrated on September 16 after a number of postponements. Governor Hogg was too worn out from the Legislative session to attend.[23] That he might not have been entirely welcome can be judged from the fact that a few weeks earlier a disgruntled Texan had sat in the doorway of the Texas Building informing passers-by, "This building will be open to visitors next Monday ... The Governor of the State will not be here. We don't want him. If he comes we will throw him out. He vetoed the appropriation ... against the will of the people of Texas ... ."[24] Though Governor Hogg was missing, former Governors John Ireland and Richard Hubbard served in his place on Texas Day.[25]

Two Texans had especially prominent roles at the World's Columbian Exposition. One was Colonel Henry Exall, who was appointed by President Benjamin Harrison to be Commissioner at Large to the World's Fair Commission, the body responsible for the Fair.[26] The other was John T. Dickinson, who had the very active and responsible role of Secretary to the Commission, serving from 1889-1893. Dickinson had been a former editor of the *Houston Telegram*, Secretary of the Texas House of Representatives, and Secretary of the State Capitol Board. His experiences with Fairs began in 1888 when he directed "the famous Inter-State Military Encampment and International Music Contest" that celebrated the completion of the Texas State Capitol. Later that year he served as Secretary and General Manager of "the International Fair Association at San Antonio" and directed "its first great Texan-Mexican Exposition ... held in November, 1888."[27] To some extent one could say John T. Dickinson was the great-grandfather of HemisFair '68.

Texas had only modest exhibits at Omaha's Trans-Mississippi Exposition in 1898 and the Pan American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, another Fair that exploited the Hemisphere theme. Edward G. Eisenlohr, a rising young Texas painter who studied under Frank Reaugh, made a creditable showing at Buffalo, and Seymour Thomas won a medal with his "Baby after the Bath," though the Exposition is better known for the assassination of President William McKinley than for anything cultural.[28]

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 at St. Louis afforded

Texans an opportunity to partake more fully of a Fair than ever before, as the distance was not great and Texas' ties with St. Louis were strong. Once again a struggle developed over the question of state financial aid. Though Governor Joseph Sayres was sympathetic and the House Judiciary Committee reported favorably on a proposed grant of $200,000 for a proper representation of Texas, the Twenty-Eighth Legislature struck down the measure more for lack of revenue than on constitutional grounds.[29]

Once again private forces came forward. John H. Kirby, the leading East Texas lumberman and banker, was named President of the Texas World's Fair Commission. He rallied bankers, lumbermen, railroad executives, and other businessmen to contribute generously to the promotion of Texas at the Fair. At the Lumbermen's State Convention in Galveston, Kirby exhorted the gathering to subscribe to the Texas World's Fair Commission on the basis of the number of board feet of lumber manufactured or sold, and his Kirby Lumber Company took the lead with a pledge of $5000.[30] The women, too, played a large role in enlisting support for the Texas exhibit, holding teas, socials, and other money-raising parties around the state.[31]

The Texas Commission numbered many prominent leaders such as Paul Waples and B.B. Paddock of Fort Worth, Royal Ferris and Barnet Gibbs of Dallas, and L.J. Polk of Galveston.[32] Serving as General-Manager of the Commission and directing the Texas exhibitions was Louis J. Wortham, a versatile man who was one of the founders and editors of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, a state senator, and an historian whose work included a five-volume *History of Texas*.[33]

Thanks to Kirby's influence, Wortham's energetic leadership, and the interested efforts of thousands of Texas citizens, Texas was able to make a very commendable display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. The Texas Building was one of the most handsome structures at the Fair. Designed by Charles H. Page, Jr., and built at a cost of over $45,000, the edifice was quite distinctive. It sat atop a hill overlooking the other state buildings and was built in the shape of a great star, with five long pointed wings radiating from the circular rotunda above which was a great dome crowned with a large bronze statue of Liberty.[34]

Inside the building was a splendid display of art. Statues of Austin, Houston, and Governors Sayres, Roberts, and Ross, all done by Elisabet Ney, stood "on pedestals about the outer edge of the Rotunda."[35] In the center of one of the wings was her fine figure of General Albert Sidney Johnston lying in state. Miss Ney had some competition from a young San Antonio Sculptor, Pompeo Coppini, who had several figures on display, including a tragic group entitled "Victims of the Galveston Flood."[36]

The victims of that terrible flood were recognized in another quite different way at the Fair. One of the main attractions on the Midway, or "Pike," as it was called, was "The Galveston Flood," a vivid recreation of the disaster by slides, sounds, and unusual lighting effects, a sort of "Cinerama" produced in a large building by the Criterion Concession Company.[37]

The Texas Building contained, besides its sculpture, many fine paintings by Texas artists, including "The Battle of the Alamo" by San Antonio's R.J. Onderdonk.[38] There were also many exhibits of the products, achievements, and prospects of the State. Above all, the building served as a hospitality house for the thousands of Texas visitors who flocked to the Fair. A hostess committee of prominent Texas ladies took turns directing the hospitality and social activities. Heading the ladies' work was Miss Katie Daffan, outstanding writer, educator, and social worker, who later became Vice President of the Texas State Historical Association (1912-14) and served as Chairman of the Lady Commissioners from Texas to the World's Fair.[39] Each hostess inaugurated her week of hospitality with a reception to which the social leaders of Texas were invited. The most prominent figures found themselves invited by many of the charming ladies, and some made more than one trip to St. Louis rather than displease a worthy Texas matron. Mrs. W.F. Robertson, Dick Dowling's only daughter and a leading socialite of Austin, had a particularly distinguished assemblage for her inaugural reception, including Former Governor Francis Lubbock, former Governor Hogg and his daughter Ima, Judge and Mrs. John H. Reagan, and Senator Morris Sheppard.[40]

Not only did Texans attend the Fair in droves but they exhibited in many departments of the Fair. Sam H. Dixon, author of *The Poets and Poetry of Texas,* was in charge of the Texas Horticultural exhibits and enlisted a great number of entries, many of which won prizes.[41] T.V. Munson had another fine exhibit of grapes, and Professor William B. Phillips of the University of Texas had a splendid mineralogy exhibit that later became the nucleus for the geology collection of the University.[42] Seymour Thomas served on the Jury of Awards in the Art Section of the Fair, and Frank Reaugh was among Texans exhibiting there.[43]

One Texan who had a particularly active part in the St. Louis Fair was young Karl St. John Hoblitzelle, who was Secretary to the Director of Works, Isaac Taylor. For several years Hoblitzelle diligently assisted in the construction and operation of the Fair, and his experiences and the acquaintances he made there pointed the direction of his future career in Texas and the Southwest. In 1905 he brought a number of the Exposition entertainers to Dallas and began what would become an empire of theaters, entertainment, and philanthropy in the Southwest. Thirty years later Hoblitzelle constributed mightily

to Texas' own great Fair, the Centennial Exposition of 1936.[44]

In 1915 the completion of the Panama Canal was the occasion of a major Fair at San Francisco, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. The distance between San Francisco and Texas and the limited association Texans had with the West Coast were largely responsible for Texas having only a modest part in this Fair. An inexpensive Texas Building was erected, modeled after the Alamo, which fitted well with the Spanish American motif of the Fair. Edward Eisenlohr was one of the exhibitors in the Art Palace, and another distinguished Texan, Professor Charles W. Hackett, read a scholarly paper at the Congress of Historians, one of many such conventions held at the various World's Fairs. Hackett later became director of the Latin-American Institute at the University of Texas (1940-1951).[45]

World War I put a damper on World Fairs and not even the "Roaring Twenties" showed much interest in this form of education and amusement. The Sesquicentennial Fair at Philadelphia was rather a bust and Texas played little part in it. The Great Depression, however, proved to be a stimulant to World Fairs, as it was believed that the Fairs might revive the sluggish economy, and the New Deal was receptive to almost any form of pump-priming.

Chicago sought to duplicate or surpass its feat of 1893 with a Century of Progress Exposition in 1933. The Fair was by no means as beautiful as the Columbian Exposition, but its many attractions from the Sky-Ride to Sally Rand drew a surprisingly large number of Texas visitors. One such visitors was Leslie C. McDonald, a West Texas farmer from Floydada, who proved to be the 20,000,000th customer to go through the Fair's turnstiles and received as a prize—another farm![46] Among other Texas visitors to the Fair was the Houston Civic Opera Association, which presented an "elaborate production" of *Aida* there on August 23. Partly because of the Depression, the individual states did not have separate buildings at this Fair but shared one huge structure, the Hall of States. Texas was one of twenty three states to exhibit in this way, and its pavilion, designed by Ivan Riley and Walter Wolfe, tastefully emphasized its history under Six Flags and called attention to its products, its resources, and its governor, Mrs. Miriam A. "Ma" Ferguson.[47] Though the Chicago Fair was extended a second year, the Texas exhibit was discontinued. The Fair officials tried to persuade Texas Ranger Frank Hamer to appear at the 1934 Exposition with Bonny and Clyde's bullet-ridden car, but the nationally famous peace officer scorned such publicity.[48]

By 1934 Texas had become absorbed in its own approaching centennial celebration, and a great Fair (indeed two!) became part of its plans. No constitutional scruples prevented the state government from appropriating $3,000,000 for Texas' one hundredth birth-

day, nor did loyalty to the theory of states' rights prevent Texans from seeking and accepting $3,000,000 for the celebration from Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Benefiting from the experiences of participation in the Centennials and World Fairs of the previous nine decades, Texans would put on a birthday party worthy of the vast state and worthy also of separate treatment by this and other historians. In the future lay not only the Centennial but also HemisFair '68 and many other World Fairs where Texans would continue their "advancement iv thought," culture, and "a good time."

NOTES

[1]Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley's Opinions* (New York, 1901), 140.

[2]Joe B. Frantz, *Gail Borden, Dairyman to a Nation* (Norman, 1951), 208-210; Elizabeth Silverthorne, *Ashbel Smith of Texas* (College Station, 1982), 122-125.

[3]Harriet Smither, "Ashbel Smith," *Handbook of Texas,* Walter P. Webb (Austin, 1952), II, 621; Silverthorne, *Ashbel Smith of Texas,* 197-199; H. Paul Dellinger *Fairs Are for Everybody,* (Waco, 1965), 46.

[4]Dellinger, *Fairs Are for Everybody,* 209.

[5]Elizabeth Brooks, *Prominent Women of Texas* (Akron, 1896), 76-77.

[6]C.V. Riley, (ed.), *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Universal Exposition of 1889* (5 vols., Washington, 1891), V, 864-65 and 885; T.C. Richardson, "Thomas Volney Munson," *Handbook of Texas,* II, 249-250.

[7]Esse Forrester O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas* (Dallas, 1935), 209.

[8]*Report of the Commissioners-General for the United States to the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900,* Senate Documents, 56th Congress, 2nd Session (1900-01), No. 232 (4 vols., Washington 1901), II.

At the Vienna Fair in 1873 the San Antonio Meat Extract Company had an exhibit of preserved meat and won an award. Robert H. Thurston, (ed.), *Reports of the Commissioners of the United States to the International Exhibition Held in Vienna, 1873,* House Reports, 44th Congress, 1st Session (4 vols., Washington, 1876), 208.

[9]"Texas Agency of Louisville, Nashville and Great Southern R'y" Broadside, May 15, 1876, in Texas Collection, Eugene C. Barker Center, University of Texas; Texas and Pacific Railroad Broadside, 1876, in Ernest W. Winkler, *Check List of Texas Imprints* (2 vols., Austin, 1948-63), II, 664; C.W. Raines, *Year Book for Texas,* 1903 (2 vols., Austin, 1903), II, 226-27.

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[12]Frank W. Johnson, Eugene C. Barker, and Ernest W. Winkler, *A History of Texas and Texans* (5 vols., Chicago, 1916), V, 2049-2050.

[13]Richardson, "Munson," *Handbook of Texas,* II, 249; Brooks, *Prominent Women of Texas,* 153; Pauline A. Pinckney, *Painting in Texas: The Nineteenth Century* (Austin, 1967), 168-69.

[14]Clark Howell, "The World's Event for 1896: The Cotton States and International Exposition," *Review of Reviews,* XI, No. 2 (February, 1895), 160-61.

[15]Governor James S. Hogg to Judge E.P. Hill and to W.A. Shaw, February 11, 1893, James Stephen Hogg Papers, University of Texas; Robert C. Cotner, *James Stephen Hogg: A Biography* (Austin, 1959), 351-52; Brooks, *Promiment Women of Texas,* 202; *World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated,* September 1893, 161.

[16]*A Week at the Fair* (Chicago, 1893), 210-11; New York Herald Tribune, March 17, 1937.

[17]O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas,* 265; Bride Neill Taylor, *Elisabet Ney, Sculptor* (Austin, 1938), XXVII, 75-79 and 93; W.J. Battle, "Elisabet Ney," *Handbook of Texas,* II, 278.

[18]Houston Chronicle, April 19, 1951; O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas,* 210-211.

[19]Chicago Tribune, November 1, 1893; Pinckney, *Painting in Texas,* 188-89.

[20]O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas,* 209; World's Columbian Exposition, *Official Catalogue,* Part XIV, Woman's Building (Chicago, 1893), 41-47; Roy C. Ledbetter, "Frank Reaugh — Painter of Longhorn Cattle," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XIV, No. 1 (July, 1950), 25.

[21]Johnson, Barker, and Winkler, *History of Texas and Texans,* V, 2263.

[22]*A Week at the Fair,* 165 and 246.

[23]Governor Hogg to Governor P.W. McKinney (of Virginia), May 18, 1893, Hogg Papers.

[24]Chicago Tribune, June 16, 1893.

[25]Chicago Tribune, September 16 and 17, 1893.

[26]Johnson, Barker, and Winkler, *History of Texans and Texas,* V, 2050.

[27]*World's Columbian Exposition Illustrated,* July, 1892, 94.

[28]*The Bohemian* (Fort Worth, 1904), World's Fair Edition, (Buffalo, 1901), 54; Holland Thompson, (ed.), *The Book of Texas* (Dallas, 1929), 289; O'Brien, *Art and Artists of Texas,* 207.

[29]Raines, *Year Book for Texas,* II, 216-27.

[30]Raines, *Year Book for Texas,* II, 355-58.

[31]*State Topics* (Austin, Texas), I, No. 17 (March 6, 1904), 11, and No. 20 (March 27, 1904), 4.

[32]David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904* (2 vols., St. Louis, 1913), II, 425.

[33]"Louis J. Wortham," Biography File, Barker History Center, Austin; "Louis J. Wortham," *Handbook of Texas,* II, 936.

[34]Charles B. Wells, "The State Buildings at the St. Louis Exposition," *The Outlook,* Vol. LXXVI, No. 14 (April 2, 1904), 785; Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904,* II, 259; Ethel Bostick, "Texas at the World's Fair," *The Bohemian,* 214-16; James W. Buel, ed., *Louisiana and the Fair* (10 vols., St. Louis, 1904-05), VI, 2333-38.

[35]Buel, *Louisiana and the Fair,* VI, 2334.

[36]Buel, *Louisiana and the Fair,* VI, 2337; Bostick, *Texas at the World's Fair,* 214.

[37]*Francis, The Universal Exposition of 1904,* I, 581 and 600.

[38]Bostick, *"Texas at the World's Fair,"* 214.

[39]Sinclair Moreland, *The Texas Women's Hall of Fame* (Austin, 1917), 29-32.

[40]Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904,* II, 426; *State Topics,* I, No. 47 (October 2, 1904), 8-11.

[41]*Farm and Ranch,* October 1, 1904, 16.

[42]*Farm and Ranch,* October 1, 1904, 16; *State Topics,* I, No. 28 (May 22, 1904), 11, and No. 29 (May 29, 1904), 4.

[43]Mantle Fielding, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers* (Flushing, 1960), 365.

[44]John W. Rogers, *The Lusty Texans of Dallas* (New York, 1960), 222 and 228; Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904*), I, 83; see also Karl Hoblitzelle, St. Louis World's Fair 1904 Collection, Hoblitzelle Theatre Arts Library, University of Texas.

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[46]New York Times, November 6, 1933.

[47]Chicago Century of Progress International Exposition, *Official Guide Book of the Fair* (Chicago, 1933), 90-91, 114, and 147.

[48]Walter P. Webb, *The Texas Rangers* (Boston, 1935), 544.

CONTROLLING THE WORKERS: THE GALVESTON DOCK WORKERS' STRIKE OF 1920 AND ITS IMPACT ON LABOR RELATIONS IN TEXAS

by William D. Angel, Jr.

On March 3, 1920, after months of futile negotiations with coastwise shipping companies, sixteen hundred coastwise longshoremen in Galveston struck the Morgan and Mallory steamship lines. Striking as part of nationwide walkout, they demanded an hourly wage hike from $.60 to $.80 for straight time and from $.90 to $1.20 for overtime. Also, they wanted closed shop employment practices to continue on the Galveston docks, so only members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) would be permitted to work.[1]

The strike, however, focused other issues, specifically the role that unions would play in the modernization of the Texas economy. The state's businessmen believed that a militant, class conscious, and organized labor force would retard economic progress. As a group of Vernon, Texas, businessmen put it: "Although we are friends of the laboring man, self preservation and salvation from ruin demand that walking delegates and agitators of all kinds be prevented from making a 'Russia' out of America."[2] In a somewhat more sophisticated vein, T.H. Coffee, president of the Vernon Chamber of Commerce, stated that his organization only wanted to "secure maximum production in labor and eliminate all possible waste as the only means of . . . stabilizing conditions throughout the country."[3] For Vernon's leaders — and their views paralleled those of businessmen throughout Texas — unions had to be controlled, their activities restricted.

During the period immediately following World War I, Texas businessmen went about the work of affirming class relationships so that owners and managers could dominate labor effectively. Together with politicians, they established a work setting in which capitalist enterprises would secure maximum productivity from their workers without facing the limits imposed by slowdowns, strikes, or negotiations with unions.[4] Their aims included the establishment of open-shop policy wherever unions attempted to organize labor. Although many work stoppages and walkouts occurred in Texas both immediately before and after World War I, one of the most important was the Galveston Dock Workers Strike of 1920. This case illustrates the brutal willingness of private businessmen to ally with the state to create open-shop working conditions, or, in other words, an atmosphere in which only a weak labor opposition would exist.

William D. Angel, Jr., is Assistant Professor of Political Science, Ohio State University at Lima.

The Galveston City Commission generally sympathized with the strikers and did not interfere with the local's activities. In fact, city officials responded favorably to working class needs and interests. The commissioners had been elected in 1919 as members of the "City Party," whose platform advocated the abolition of sewer taxes, the equalization of all property value assessments, and the raising of taxes on property owned by the Galveston Wharf Company.[5] Despite vigorous opposition from such business groups as the Young Men's Progressive League, the Galveston Commercial Association, and the Galveston Merchants' Association, the city's voters approved these reforms in a referendum election held in May 1920 — two months after the beginning of the Dock Workers Strike.[6]

Thus, in the midst of the 1920 strike, Galveston capitalists felt increasingly hard pressed by labor groups in the city and by a city government unsympathetic to their needs. They were displeased with the benevolent attitude that the city commissioners had displayed toward the city's workers. They were also upset by the municipal government's intention to undertake tax reform at their expense. Their attitudes and their actions began to harden within a few days following the referendum.

On May 11, a brief flurry of violence affected the strike and stirred business' resolve. Someone fired gunshots at a group of railroad cars transporting strike-breakers from the Mallory Docks to Houston.[7] Although no one was harmed seriously and although it was never proven that striking workers had fired the shots, the Galveston business community exploited the incident to exaggerate the labor troubles in Galveston. Speaking on behalf of the Galveston business community, the *Galveston Daily News* editorialized: "It is sincerely to be hoped that conservative leaders will step into the breach and curb the intemperate actions of radicals, prevent possible serious riots, and save their organization from possible blemish . . . There have been numerous affrays between pickets and strikebreakers and two near riots. The protection afforded by the police has been almost a nullity."[8]

On May 13, Mayor H.O. Sappington requested the deployment of Texas Rangers to protect non-union workers on the docks.[9] The Rangers more than fulfilled this function, preventing union proselytizing as well as interference. On one occasion, armed Rangers drew their pistols and dispersed two union organizers attempting to distribute union literature at a strikebreakers' encampment.[10] With the Rangers in firm control, tranquility soon prevailed on the Galveston waterfront. On May 20, Ranger Captain R.W. Aldrich reported to Governor William Hobby that "quiet orderliness" prevailed on the docks and that no striking dockworkers were attempting to "subvert" working employees.[11]

Galveston businessmen, however, were less concerned about the safety of the strikebreakers than they were fearful that local shipping companies would move to other ports. On May 12, the *News* had warned of the potential calamity that would follow if the Mallory Line relocated: "There will go with it many thousands of dollars paid out in salaries and other disbursements. It is generally known that other ports are making strong bids for the Mallory Line's business, and it is now known that the Mallory Line officials are thoroughly dissatisfied with Galveston affairs."[12]

A few days later, events began to confirm Galvestonians' concern. Mallory announced the relocation of its headquarters and business to Port Arthur, and the Morgan Line leaked word of a possible move to New Orleans.[13] J.B. Dennison, vice president and general manager of the Mallory Line, announced:

> The company has been forced to seek another port as its Texas terminal due to the refusal of the strikers to accept the wage scale offered them and their interference with other workers . . . For this reason, we have moved our offices to Port Arthur, where we have found the facilities excellent. Our vessels are being loaded and discharged with dispatch and we are pleased with the results obtained.[14]

Later under questioning Dennison refused to state that the move was only temporary. On May 28, the impact of Mallory's decision became clear when 200 freight-filled rail cars were diverted from Galveston to Port Arthur, "because of the longshoremen's strike" and because of the availability in Port Arthur of "facilities for loading freight on ships of the Mallory Steamship Company."[15]

To make matters worse, Houston businessmen were actively soliciting Mallory to build a terminal on the city's Ship Channel. In fact, they tendered such an offer at a May 31 meeting which included representatives from the Houston Young Men's Business League, the Salesmanship Club, the Houston Advertising Association, the Automobile Association of South Texas, and the Retail Merchants Association. Assured by B.C. Allin, director of the Port of Houston, that "The Port can easily care for the Mallory Line," the meeting approved a resolution urging the issuance of bonds to provide proper facilities for the Mallory Company. One participant in the meeting echoed a view which surely must have rattled the nerves of Galveston businessmen: "The trouble with Galveston," he declared, "is that it is a longshoremen's town, is run by longshoremen, and for that reason no change in the present conditions [there] can be expected in the near future."[16] Others announced the expectation that acquisition of the Mallory Line would make Houston into a first-class world port, something Houstonians had wanted ever since they had initiated the ship channel project.[17] Such sentiments coming from their greatest rival made Galveston's businessmen sweat.

Throughout June 1920, the *Galveston Daily News* complained that striking longshoremen were restricting traffic at the Port of Galveston. Although the Mallory Line had attempted to use non-union workers to unload coastwise ships, the *News* pointed out that only two such vessels were unloaded between March 19 and June 6. Forty-two shipments of cargo normally would have been handled during that period. Similarly, the Galveston paper noted, longshoremen on the Morgan Docks should have unloaded sixty-six ships; by June 6, only four ships had been unloaded. Also, according to the *News*, Galveston's grain elevators were full and awaiting coastwise shipment, while 2600 carloads of wheat were stalled in shipyards because no one would handle them.[18]

Capitalists in Galveston and throughout the state used these statistics to press for state intervention on their behalf. In Houston H.C. Engle, spokesperson for the local Chamber of Commerce, asserted: "The situation has become serious and something should be done. We should have whatever steps are necessary to move the goods now in Galveston, belonging to Houston shippers, and if protection cannot be had in Galveston, it can be obtained from the state or Federal government ... ."[19] From Dallas, T.E. Jackson, president of that city's Chamber of Commerce, wired Governor William P. Hobby, "It is imperative to protect the interests of Texas shippers who depend on Galveston for port facilities."[20]

The Board of Directors for the Texas Chamber of Commerce, at the behest of merchants throughout the state, carried their appeal directly to the Governor in a June 1 meeting with him. J.G. Culbertson from Wichita Falls, president of this organization, Louis Lipsitz of Dallas, and H.H. Haines of Galveston all warned the Governor, "Assaults of a violent nature . . . have been an almost daily occurrence in Galveston to the great detriment of business interests in Texas." Emphasizing that police protection in the Port was "inadequate," they further urged Governor Hobby to intervene and uphold "the prestige of Texas Gulf ports."[21] Haines, who was president of the Galveston Commercial Association, and three businessmen from Galveston (H.A. Treat, John Jacobson, and Peter Cummings) advised Hobby that because commerce through the Port of Galveston was "paralyzed," the Governor should "provide adequate protection to the citizens of Texas in the Port of Galveston, *even to the extend of declaring martial law*."[22] In their appeals to Governor Hobby, each of these capitalist groups indicated that workers who wanted to work were being harrassed, while the local police force was making no attempt to intervene.[23]

Governor Hobby quickly responded, sending an ultimatum to Sheriff Henry Thomas of Galveston County and to the Galveston City Commission. Asserting that the strike was creating chaos in the

Texas economy, the Governor warned: "I feel it is my duty to advise you that unless police protection is given and the peace laws of the state enforced by local authorities, ensuring the free and uninterrupted movement of freight and the absolute safety of any and all workers employed in the loading, unloading, and transfer or transportation of same, I shall . . . assume control."[24] Hobby then ordered State Militia Brigadier General J.R. Wolters to Galveston to observe the dock situation and to discuss possible remedies with local authorities and businessmen. He also gave the militia commander the authority to "take such action as will be necessary to enforce the laws of the state without partiality and to keep open these arteries of trade which are essential to the prosperity and uninterrupted conduct of business in Texas."[25]

Stung by these events, Galveston's commissioners contended that Hobby, the Texas Chamber of Commerce, local businessmen, and other business interests had grossly overstated the situation in Galveston. They bristled at the Governor's implied threat to send the militia to their city. Wiring him, they claimed that the local police "would cope with and suppress" any violation of the law. Meanwhile J.H. Fricke, president of the South Atlantic District of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), argued that the strike was "the most peaceful and law abiding strike in history."[26] I.M. Barb, president of the Galveston Labor Council, protested, "Governor Hobby's action is totally uncalled for. Those who went to Austin to lay the matter before Governor Hobby represented the situation in as black a light as possible. Gross misrepresentations were made by the State Chamber of Commerce and by some of the union-hating citizens of Galveston."[27]

Although dock traffic was still ensnarled on June 7, cargo was beginning to move and there appeared to be little need for outside law enforcement. Even the *Galveston Daily News* reported, "There is peace on the waterfront at Galveston now and the non-union men are working undisturbed in increasing numbers."[28]

This latter view appears to be more accurate than the exaggerated interpretation of Governor Hobby and the version supplied by those businessmen urging him to action. Commercial data suggest that trade was proceeding through Galveston, despite the alleged problems the Mallory and Morgan Lines were encountering. One must keep in mind that the strike was among coastwise unions; deep sea longshoremen were still handling cargos, even those shipments destined for coastal ports. In May 1920, a total of ninty-eight vessels cleared Galveston Port with $27.8 million in exported goods while $3.2 million of goods were imported. In May 1919, one year earlier, the export-import traffic was $27.5 and $2.1 million respectively.[29] These data hardly supports the charge that the strike was strangling

Galveston's and Texas' commerce.

Hobby and Texas capitalists likewise distorted and exaggerated the extent of physical abuse directed by the striking workers against the strikebreakers. On June 3, H.M. Wilkins, agent for the Morgan Line, reported to the contrary: "Large numbers of dock workers are arriving daily, and today a great many came in voluntarily. Several of our new dock workers who came in last week have returned to our docks bringing large numbers of new workmen with them."[30] Work continued on the Morgan docks, even though workers still required an escort to get to work and the company continued to post guards to prevent disruption.

On June 4, Adjutant General W.D. Cope met with Galveston's commissioners and local labor leaders. J.H. Fricke, an ILA official, eloquently tried to counter the reports of union violence, asserting that "Our men believe in law and order and the records will show that our members are law abiding citizens." Fricke went on to argue that the imposition of martial law was unwarranted. "There is no trouble here of any account," he claimed, "[and] the majority of the people in the city do not even know there is a strike on. Except for a few peaceful pickets, all men are kept away from the docks."[31] The next day Cope, Mayor Sappington, and Ranger Captain Brooks observed freight being loaded onto ships at Galveston wharves. Cope wired Governor Hobby that "he saw additional workers on the Wharf at work; that switchers were moving empty cars onto the wharf and . . . loaded cars out." Furthermore, he expressed "satisfaction with the ability of the mayor, the city government, and the police to handle the situation."[32]

This "peace on the watefront" should have obviated any assistance from the Governor, but Texas businessmen were interested in more than simply subduing a gaggle of striking longshoremen. If the longshoremen's unions could be suppressed, then similar control could be exercised over other unionized employees. Pursuing a more profound objective than simply clearing the alleged commercial logjam in Galveston, they also wanted to open the Island City to non-union labor. To accomplish this aim, they would use the coercive power of the state government, waiting as long as need be to achieve their objective.

On June 2 — the day after its representatives met with Governor Hobby — the Texas Chamber of Commerce and the Galveston Chamber of Commerce issued a statement proclaiming the need for the open shop:

> The long continued succession of strikes in marine circles has tired the business interests of Texas, affecting as it does the handling of water-borne commerce so essential to the industrial life of the state . . . Galveston has determined to organize and operate an

> open shop policy on these coastwise docks as the only solution to a serious and expensive obstruction of traffic and commerce.[33]

F.O. Thompson, president of the Southwest Open Shop Association, expressed sympathy for such a policy, declaring, "The only solution to the strike is the establishment of the open shop . . . Give us law and order and we can bring in the open shop and put it in successful operation."[34] Three days earlier, Thompson had met with several Galveston businessmen to help organize a local open-shop association.[35]

To create conditions ripe for the open shop, however, capitalist interests needed to secure the support of the Governor and the state government. By this time businessmen in Galveston and throughout Texas were distrustful of both the ILA and the Galveston authorities, viewing them as collaborators in some scheme to wrest economic power from the dominent business powers. The Galveston Commercial Association strongly articulated this view in a June 2 message to the Governor:

> We say to you unhesitatingly that we have no confidence in the possibility of protection from Galveston police . . . But the docks must be opened. It is useless to make contracts with these unions; they violate them as soon as they are made. The unions have no property interests; they can not and will not make agreements that are enforceable; and it is only folly to temporize with them. Only from the State can we expect such measures of protection as will enable us to operate.[36]

The Commercial Association did not mince words about what actions it expected from the state government. Declaring that the entire state's interests were affected, the Association charged, "It would appear to be the state's job to furnish protection in whatever quantities may be necessary, and to whatever extent, even to the extent of putting the city under martial law."[37] Thus, before they had even met with Governor Hobby on June 4, capitalists in Galveston knew what they wanted to accomplish and they were not about to allow any temporary "peace" on the Galveston docks to thwart their aims.

On June 7, Governor Hobby honored their pleas when he declared martial law in Galveston and dispatched 1000 militiamen, including two machine gun companies to the city.[38] The next day, Galveston businessmen announced the formation of an open shop association. Responding to these events and to Hobby's order as attempts to "establish the Open Shop in Galveston," labor leaders and city commissioners were incensed at the Governor's action. The shipping companies reacted by bringing in over 200 additional non-union workers to unload cargos.[39]

By June 13, most Galvestonians believed the "crisis" over; in reality it was just beginning. Hobby declined to remove the troops,

fearing that the situation at Galveston would "blow up immediately if the troops left."[40] The volatile conditions, however, were largely due to the shipping companies' exploitation of racial animosities. Before the strike the Mallory Shipping Company had employed black longshoremen and the Morgan Line had hired only whites. Shortly after the strike began Mallory brought in white workers to replace the striking black longshoremen, and Morgan hired blacks to work the company's docks in place of the white unionmen.[41] These attempts to manipulate racial tensions generated little violence, as Fricke's and Barb's remarks above indicate. Racial eruptions only occurred when both shippers began to employ Mexican *braceros* as strike-breakers, at which time both white and black dock workers began to harass the newcomers.

It was at this time that Governor Hobby declared martial law and sent troops to control alleged violence on the docks. When the longshoremen persisted in harassing the Mexican workers, Hobby decided to prolong the troop deployment in order to protect "those citizens of Galveston who wanted to work but who were being harassed by strikers."[42] But the violence that allegedly occurred in the Galveston strike was not totally worker-inspired. Rather, the Mallory and Morgan steamship companies' use of minority strike breakers ignited racial conflict, thus giving Hobby the needed justification to continue the troop deployment.

Not only did the soldiers remain, but in July the Governor signed an order which suspended and restrained Galveston's mayor and commissioners "from performing their duties appertaining to their respective offices with respect to enforcement of penal laws of the State and the City of Galveston." His order also suspended all members of the Galveston police force. Hobby declared this move was required because Galveston officials had "failed to maintain and preserve the peace and to protect the citizens engaged in lawful occupations."[43]

Galveston Commissioners A.P. Norman, U.L. Purcell, John Gernand, and George Robinson, City Attorney Frank Anderson, and City Judge Henry O'Dell jointly blasted the Governor's order: "The whole situation is political, and martial law is for the avowed purpose of establishing [the] open shop, destroying union labor, and taking over the city government."[44] Galveston officials believed they were being punished because they had abolished "special privilege" and had equalized taxes, a move which reportedly added $5.5 million to city revenues. According to the city officials, the bulk of this increase had come from "assessment against corporations, firms, and individuals which either [had] escaped taxation or where grossly underassessed."[45]

Despite this remonstration, Governor Hobby maintained martial

law in Galveston throughout the summer of 1920. Visiting Galveston on the morning of July 21, he spoke privately with several city businessmen, including J.H. Langben, president of the Galveston Dry Dock and Commercial Association, and W.R. Phillips of the Galveston Commercial Association. These conversations apparently hardened the Governor's resolve. In a speech to the Rotary Club that very afternoon, he specified that he would not remove the troops until he had an "absolute demonstration that Galveston can care for the situation." Furthermore, he argued, "I believe the life of Texas business is involved in the existence of the port, and I will continue while in the governor's office to use all powers vested in me in keeping the port of Galveston open, in causing the movement of freight through it . . ."[46]

To local business interests, however, the phrase "keeping Galveston open" signified more than simply allowing for the free movement of trade. On July 31, thirteen cotton compress companies turned down ILA demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and the closed shop, proclaiming instead the existence of open-shop conditions on company premises.[47] A.S.L. Toombs of the Southern Products Company asserted, "When the contract expired, we decided to operate our businesses as we saw fit, rather than have a walking delegate [i.e., a union representative] in control of certain phases of it. Therefore, we declined to make an agreement with any organization to exclusively supply us with workers."[48] In a similar move, steamship agents refused to renew closed-shop contracts with locals of the Marine Checkers Union. The Machinists Union and the Cooks and Waiters Union received like treatment from their employers.[49] By the fall of 1920, Galveston was becoming an open-shop city.

Two weeks later, steamship companies turned down a concession offered by the striking longshoremen. The striking workers had agreed to return to work, pending arbitration of their demands and providing that the steamship owners dismissed non-union workers.[50] The steamship owners rejected this compromise because Galveston docks were operating at seventy percent capacity, and with plenty of non-union labor the companies saw little need to deal with the unions. Also, if the companies dismissed the non-union workers in favor of the union employees, it would imply *de facto* recognition of the closed shop. The companies held firm, rejecting the concession.[51] Hobby's martial law policy thus allowed the local open-shop movement to gain momentum.

The militia remained in Galveston until October 1920. Even after the Governor restored the powers of the municipal officers, local law enforcement remained under the supervision of the Texas Rangers.[52] By December 1920, the extensive "show of force" had subdued the striking longshoremen. Mallory workers were the first to submit,

accepting an hourly wage hike to $.67/hour, $1.00/hour for overtime. According to the new contract, "No discrimination [would] be made with respect to the employment of non-union workers." Thus, open-shop conditions would prevail on Mallory Docks. Also, union representatives would not be permitted on the docks, "except in the performance of duty," and at no time would discussion of union activities or business be allowed.[53]

Again the companies tried to play the black and white workers against each other, this time with considerably more success. They induced the black Mallory longshoremen to sign this rather repressive contract, and a few weeks later, the white Morgan workers, faced with a *fait d'acompli*, signed a similar agreement.[54] By early 1921, Galveston was essentially an open-shop city. Capital had forced a devastating defeat upon labor.

The Galveston Dockworkers' Strike of 1920 — though not especially violent and costing only one life — was still noteworthy. The strike's resolution established an atmosphere involving a tightly knit state government/private business coalition, united in its opposition to unionized labor. One of this coalition's intended objectives was to mold the state into a "free-labor" territory, where new industries could develop and where new factories could locate unfettered by the perceived restrictions imposed by organized labor.

Having imposed its will on the Galveston Dockworkers, the coalition began to consolidate its gains once victory seemed assured. In September 1920, Governor Hobby called a special session of the state legislature "to consider the Galveston Strike situation."[55] He submitted an Open Port Bill for the legislature's consideration which confirmed the Governor's right to declare martial law in cities where strikes restricted the shipment of goods.

In a message to the legislators, Hobby declared: "The channels of trade affecting the life of the business of Texas and affecting the living conditions, the occupations of all the people, must be kept open, and I shall exert the full limit of the state's power to accomplish that purpose."[56] The bill made it "the policy of the state to effectively prohibit interference with those whose work is needed to carry on the business of the port."[57] State Senator Page, whose rhetoric reflected the views and beliefs of the measure's supporters, echoed support for the Governor: "If you refuse to pass this bill, you are pandering to the worst element in Texas. You are framing conditions so that we may soon have Lenines [sic] and Trotszkys [sic] among us. This is not a political matter, but a matter on which the good government of the State of Texas is at stake."[58] The mood of the state legislature made for speedy passage of the Open Port Bill, and the lawmakers overwhelmingly approved it on October 1920, the bill becoming law on January 1, 1921.[59]

The Open Port Act legitimized the right of the state government to use its law enforcement powers to break up strikes, thwart union activities, and preserve or establish open-shop practices. As such, its passage sanctioned Governor Hobby's actions in the Galveston Dockworkers' Strike. The act made it "unlawful for any two or more persons to use physical violence or to threaten its use to interfere with or protest or harass any persons engaged in the work of loading, unloading, or transporting any commerce." Having application to commerce on any common carrier, including railways, streetcar companies, pipelines and wharf companies, the law also gave the Governor broad powers to "exercise full and complete jurisdiction" in any areas where common carriers were being impeded. Because it was a violation of the law to urge a common-carrier's employees to strike while they were at work, the act straight-jacketed union efforts to communicate with workers while on the job.[60]

Two years later Governor Pat Neff invoked the Act to break the 1922 Railroad Strike. On July 1, 1922, members of the Federated Railway Shopworkers Union in Houston stopped work in response to a proposed reduction in their wage scale. Railworkers in Palestine, Corpus Christi, San Antonio, Denison, Sherman, Waco, Childress, Temple, Fort Worth, and other Texas cities followed suit.[61] When the Southern Pacific line fired striking workers and hired non-union replacements, fist-fights and gunshot exchanges erupted in several communities, most notably Denison, Childress, and Sherman. On July 26, Governor Neff, as authorized by the Open Port Law, declared martial law in Denison, where he deployed several companies of state militia. Neff also dispatched Ranger detachments to Sherman, Childress, Amarillo, Temple, Waco, Marshall, Cleburne, Lufkin, and Kingsville.[62]

By September 25, freight was once again moving freely, with both the Texas and Pacific and Southern Pacific lines doing business as usual. On October 2, the strike ended with a capitulation by the workers. Not all of the striking workers were rehired; only those needed by the companies to share the workload with those non-union employees hired during the strike were called back. Furthermore, they returned to work at the reduced wage rate, as had been proposed in June, and they lost their seniority in the interim. They were rehired only as "new employees."[63] Neff's application of the Open Port Law forced a stunning defeat on Texas' striking railroaders.

The Texas government and the state's capitalists had once again set an example for workers and for potential outside investors. They had once again exercised their willingness to suppress organized labor activity. In 1929 a Federal court ruled the Open Port Law unconstitutional as a violation of both the United States and the Texas Constitutions,[64] but organized labor had already been taught a lesson.

After all, Hobby had exercised the state's power without any law, and conceivably future governors could do the same. The alliance between the state government and organized capital certainly could be expected to deter any worker "uppityness" in Texas.

Another thought to consider is that Governors Hobby and Neff were progressive governors when compared to the series of reactionary executives who followed them in the late 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. W. Lee O'Daniel (1939-41), Coke Stevenson (1941-47), Beuford Jester (1947-49), and Allen Shivers (1949-57) all made it clear during their terms that unions were not welcome in Texas. Shivers, especially, couched no sympathy for unions, and he heartily resisted the CIO's repeated attempts to organize industrial workers in Texas. He parlayed this anti-union stance into re-election victories in 1950, 1952 and 1954, primarily by labeling members of the CIO as communists, charges resembling those aimed at union members in 1920.[55]

These later governors simply were operating in a political tradition consistent with that which existed in the 1920s. Hobby and Neff, in cooperation with Texas businessmen, established a precedent which these later, more reactionary governors, willingly exploited.

NOTES

[1]*Galveston Daily News,* March 20, 1920.

[2]*Galveston Daily News,* June 2, 1920.

[3]*Galveston Daily News,* June 2, 1920.

[4]David Gordon, "Class Struggle and the Stages of American Urban Development," in David Perry and Alfred Watkins, ed., *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1977), 57-62.

[5]*Galveston Daily News,* May 11, 14, 1919. From 1919 to 1921, the Galveston City Commissioners were: A.P. Norman (Police and Fire), J.C. Purcell (Finance and Revenue), J.H. Gernand (Street), and George Robinson (Water and Sewerage).

[6]*Galveston Daily News,* May 1, 2, 3, 4, 15, 1920.

[7]*Galveston Daily News,* May 12, 1920.

[8]*Galveston Daily News,* May 12, 1920.

[9]*Galveston Daily News,* May 14, 1920.

[10]*Galveston Daily News,* May 19, 1920.

[11]*Galveston Daily News,* May 21, 1910.

[12]*Galveston Daily News,* May 12, 1910.

[13]*Galveston Daily News,* May 14, 17, 1920.

[14]*Galveston Daily News,* May 16, 1920.

[15]*Galveston Daily News,* May 29, 1920.

[16]*Galveston Daily News,* June 1, 1920.

[17]William D. Angel, Jr., "To Make a City: Entrepreneurship on the Sunbelt Frontier" in Perry and Watkins, *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities,* 109-128.

[18]*Galveston Daily News,* June 6, 1920.

[19]*Galveston Daily News,* May 22, 1920.

[20]*Galveston Daily News,* May 22, 1920.

[21]*Galveston Daily News*, June 2, 1920.

[22]*Galveston Daily News*, June 2, 1920. Emphasis is the author's.

[23]Occupations for these businessmen were: John G. Culbertson—president, Culbertson Oil Company; general manager, Wichita Falls Motor Company; Louis Lipsitz—president, Lipsitz Lumber Company; vice-president, American Exchange Bank of Dallas; H.H. Hines—full-time president, Galveston Commercial Association; Peter Cummings—president, Cummings and Company, Galveston (sporting goods and auto supplies); H.J. Langben—manager, Galveston Dry Dock and Construction Company; John Jacobson—General Contractor. *Wichita Falls City Director*, 1912; *Dallas City Director*, 1920; *Galveston City Director*, 1920.

[24]*Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1920.

[25]*Galveston Daily News*, June 4, 1920.

[26]*Galveston Daily News*, June 4, 1920.

[27]*Galveston Daily News*, June 4, 1920.

[28]*Galveston Daily News*, June 7, 1920.

[29]*Galveston Daily News*, January 1, 1921, year-end business supplement.

[30]*Galveston Daily News*, June 4, 1920.

[31]*Galveston Daily News*, June 5, 1920.

[32]*Galveston Daily News*, June 6, 1920.

[33]*Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1920.

[34]*Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1920.

[35]*Galveston Daily News*, June 1, 1920.

[36]*Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1920.

[37]*Galveston Daily News*, June 3, 1920.

[38]*Galveston Daily News*, June 8, 1920.

[39]*Galveston Daily News*, June 9, 1920.

[40]*Galveston Daily News*, June 16, 1920.

[41]*Galveston Daily News*, June 6, 1920.

[42]*Galveston Daily News*, June 11, 1920.

[43]*Galveston Daily News*, June 16, 1920.

[44]*Galveston Daily News*, July 16, 1920.

[45]*Galveston Daily News*, July 16, 1920.

[46]*Galveston Daily News*, July 22, 1920.

[47]*Galveston Daily News*, August 1, 1920.

[48]*Galveston Daily News*, August 4, 1920.

[49]*Galveston Daily News*, August 4, 1920.

[50]*Galveston Daily News*, August 16, 1920.

[51]*Galveston Daily News*, August 24, 1920.

[52]*Galveston Daily News*, September 19, 30, 1920.

[53]*Galveston Daily News*, December 14, 15, 1920.

[54]*Galveston Daily News*, January 23, 1920.

[55]*Galveston Daily News*, September 7, 1920.

[56]*Galveston Daily News*, September 22, 1920.

[57]*Galveston Daily News*, September 22, 1920.

[58]*Galveston Daily News*, October 3, 1920.

[59]*Galveston Daily News*, January 1, 1921.

[60]*General Laws of the State of Texas Passed by the Fourth Called Session of the*

36th Legislature (Austin, 1920), 7-10.

[61]*Houston Post,* July 12, 1922.

[62]*Houston Post,* July 26, 1920.

[63]*Houston Post,* October 2, 1922.

[64]Rupert Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State* (New York, 1943), 425.

[65]George Norris Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1952* (Westport, Conn., 1979), 153-159.

ITALIAN AND IRISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TEXAS WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

by Valentine J. Belfiglio

The Texas War for Independence erupted with the Battle of Gonzales on October 2, 1835.[1] Centralist forces had renounced the Mexican constitution and established a dictatorship. The Texas settlers, meanwhile, developed grievances. They desired to retain their English language and American traditions, and feared that the Mexican government would abolish slavery. Texans also resented Mexican laws which imposed duties on imported goods, suspended land contracts, and prohibited American immigration. At first the Americans were bent on restoring the constitution, but later they decided to fight for separation from Mexico. Except for research by Luciano G. Rusich (1979, 1982), about the role of the Marquis of Sant'Angelo, and research by John B. Flannery (1980), about the Irish Texans, the roles played by Italians and Irishmen in the Texas War for Independence largely have been ignored.

During the war, Italian fought against Italian, and Irishman against Irishman, since men from Italy and Ireland were in both armies. Only a few Irish favored Mexico. Captain Ira Westover's report of the capture of Fort Lipantitlan in November 1835 indicates that fourteen Irishmen from San Patricio served with the Mexican armed forces. Five of them were in the fort when it was captured.[2] Most of the Irish colonists supported the Texas cause. The Irish settlers sustained grievous losses in terms of lives and property, since many of the battles were fought in their colonial areas of San Patricio, Rufugio, and Victoria, which are located in southwest Texas.

The highest ranking Italian in the Mexican army was General Vicente Filisola. When General Lopez de Santa Anna came to Texas in 1836 to suppress the rebellion against Mexico, Filisola was with him as second-in-command.[3] Born in Pavello, Italy, in 1789, Filisola migrated with his family to Spain, where he joined the army in 1804. He became a second lieutenant six years later. In 1811, Filisola went to Mexico where he eventually rose to the rank of general. The most notable Italian to serve with the Texas army was Prospero Bernardi. Born in Italy in 1794, Bernardi immigrated to Texas in 1836. On February 13, 1836, he enlisted with Captain Amasa Turner's New Orleans Volunteers.

During the earliest skirmishes of the war, Irishmen fought bravely for Texas. They were in the action at Goliad on October 9, 1835, at Fort Lipantitlan on November 4, 1835, and during the Siege of

Valentine J. Belfiglio is Associate Professor of History at Texas Woman's University, Denton, Texas.

San Antonio on December 10, 1835. Irish at Lippantitlan included James Power; Jeremiah Day; John Dunn; Nicholas and John Fagan; John, James, and Walter Lambert; Martin Lawlor; John, Michael, and Patrick Quinn; Charles Malone; Morgan and Thomas O'Brien; James and Thomas O'Connor; Michael McDonough; Patrick and Michael O'Reilly; Daniel O'Driscoll; William Ryan; Jeremiah O'Toole; and Peter Teal.[4] On October 31, 1835, a detachment of thirty-five men, a majority of whom were Irish volunteers under the command of Adjutant Ira Westover, slogged through the deep mire of unimproved roads towards Fort Lipantitlan. They marched in poor formation along the lower road to San Patricio behind the Texas Irish flag, "with words and figures *CONSTITUTION of 1824,* displayed on the white, in the centre."[5] James Reilly of San Patricio volunteered to go to the fort in an effort to persuade the twenty-two defenders to surrender. Through his efforts the fort was captured without firing a shot on November 3.[6]

The citizen soldiers left the fort on November 4. Without warning, a contingent of Mexican soldiers attempted to ambush them as they crossed the Nueces River. During the battle the Texas forces inflicted heavy losses on the Mexicans, who withdrew into the fort. On November 15, Adjutant Westover wrote to General San Houston from Goliad about the engagement:

> The action lasted thirty two minutes when they retreated leaving us in possession of the ground which we reconnected and brought off eight of their Horses and one of their wounded . . .
>
> From the best information we could obtain there were 28 killed, wounded and missing of the enemy . . . We had but one man injured Sergt. Bracken who had three fingers shot off from his right hand and the other fractured with the same ball.
>
> The men all fought bravely and those on the opposite bank of the river were enabled to operate on the flanks of the enemy above and below the crossing which they did with fine effect.[7]

The Texans trudged to the town of San Patricio and then on to Goliad. Most of the Goliad garrison, including some Irishmen, went on to the siege of San Antonio. The Irish remaining at Goliad organized under the leadership of Captain Philip Dimitt to hold that fort. Stephen F. Austin reported on reaching San Felipe on November 30 that

> . . . the post at Goliad has been taken by the volunteers and the enemy deprived of large supplies which were at the place, and of the facilities of procuring others by water, through the port of Copano, which is also closed upon them by the occupation of Goliad. The enemy has been driven from the Nueces by a detachment of the volunteers who garrison Goliad, aided by the patriotic sons of Ireland . . .[8]

Most Texans were happy to learn that General Martin Perfecto de Cos had surrendered at Bexar on December 10 as a result of the successful attack on that city by Texas volunteers under the leadership

of Ben Milam, together with Colonel Francis W. Johnson and Edward Burleson. Other participants in the assault were the Irish colonists Joseph Benjamin Dale, Jeremiah Day, Elkanah Brush, William Langenheim, Edward McCafferty, George W. Main, and Isaac Robertson of San Patricio.[9] On December 20, ninety-one men under Captain Dimitt signed what is known as the Goliad Declaration of Independence. There were forty-two signers from the Irish colonies.[10] The Declaration vowed that "the former province and department of Texas is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent State."[11] The signers of the document marched out together and solemnly looked on as Nicholas Fagan raised the Irish Flag of Texas Independence.[12] This scene took place seventy-two days before the unanimous Declaration of Independence made by the delegates of the people of Texas in general convention at the town of Washington, on March 2, 1836.

The Texas army bent but did not break under the impact of Mexican onslaughts. From February 27 to March 2, 1836, units of the Mexican army killed most of Colonel F.W. Johnson's force of about 100 men in battles at San Patricio and Agua Dulce. On March 6, Texas suffered a staggering defeat at the Alamo when 183 men, commanded by Colonel W.B. Travis, died. The Mexicans massacred most of the defenders who managed to survive the assault. Known Irish-born soldiers who died at the Alamo included: Samuel E. Burns, Andrew Duvalt, Robert Evans, Joseph M. Hawkins, William D. Jackson, Edward McCafferty, James McGee, Robert McKinney, James Nowlan, Jackson J. Rusk, Burke Trammel, and William B. Ward.[13] Then, Captain Amon King's forces were trapped by the Mexicans on their return to the Refugio Mission on March 11, and Colonel William Ward's troops were defeated as they tried to retreat to the coast on March 22.[14] On March 20, the Texas army was routed at the Battle of Coleto Creek. On Palm Sunday, March 27, 1836, 330 Texas prisoners who were forced to assemble at Goliad in three groups. Each group marched down a different road leading away from the fort. Without warning these helpless victims were massacred. Forty-seven Irishmen were killed at Coleto and Goliad.[15]

Texans got even at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 20 and 21. The battle was fought between a military force of about 700 under the command of General Sam Houston and a Mexican army of 900 under the command of General Santa Anna. The conflict was brief but fierce. The Texas army advanced to within 200 yards of the Mexican lines. Their assault began with a cannon barrage which smashed into the center of the Mexican encampment. The cavalry stormed over the right side of the Mexican barricade, and the infantry broke into the left flank. Someone shouted, "Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!" Caught completely by surprise, the Mexican

troops attempted a brief rally. But the determined Texans fought with great fierceness, and in less than eighteen minutes, the Mexican army disintegrated. The battle was a massive defeat for Mexico and the final engagement of the war.

With the defeat of Santa Anna at San Jacinto, General Filisola became the commander of the Mexican army in Texas. His decision not to continue the campaign could have been the deciding factor in the outcome of the war. A military victory by Filisola over Houston after San Jacinto would have altered the course of Texas history. Had Filisola, to whom the order to withdraw was addressed, elected to ignore his captured commander and continue the fighting, the future of Texas could have been different. With Houston incapacitated by his wound and the Texas army disorganized by its amazing victory, it might not have been difficult for the Mexicans to have routed them, or at least staged a major offensive. The odds were still six or seven to one in favor of the Mexican troops.

About one hundred Irish-born soldiers participated in the Battle of San Jacinto, and they represented about one-seventh of the Texas army. Among them were Walter Lambert, Charles Malone, Thomas O'Connor, Daniel O'Driscoll, William Cassidy, James O'Connor, George Morris, and Martin O'Toole.[16]

The Italian, Prospero Bernardi, also fought with the Texans at the Battle of San Jacinto. Captain Amasa Turner, of the Texian army, recruited one hundred volunteers in New Orleans to fight in the Texas War for Independence. Among them was Prospero Bernardi. Bernardi arrived at Velasco, Texas, from New Orleans on the schooner Pennsylvania, on January 28, 1836.[17] He is listed among Sam Houston Dixon's *The Heroes of San Jacinto.* Discharged from active service on January 14, 1837, at Galveston, Bernardi received both a First Class grant and a Bounty grant for his gallant efforts on behalf of the independence of Texas. The First Class grant (No. 294) was for one-third league of land located in San Patricio County, and issued by the Board of Land Commissioners of Harrisburg County on February 10, 1838. The Bounty grant (No. 3066) was issued on January 14, 1837,[18] and consisted of 1,280 acres on the southwest side of Paluxy Creek, nine miles from its junction with the Brazos River, The First Class grant states that Bernardi ". . . served faithfully and honorably for the term of eleven months from the 13th day of Feby. 1836 under the eleventh day of Feb., 1837."[19]

A large bust of Prospero Bernardi stands in front of the Texas Hall of State, Fair Park, Dallas, Texas. Sculptured by the Italian artist Pompeo Coppini, the monument is five feet in height and rests upon an 18-foot base of Texas granite. Coppini portrayed Bernardi as having a well-muscled body, and dressed in a fringed, cotton and wool, frontier uniform. Bernardi's proud, erect stance and determined

look give an impression of combat readiness. His right hand holds the handle of a short-barreled pistol, and his left hand grips the hilt of a long Bowie knife. An inscription on the base of the statue reads: PROSPERO BERNARDI—ITALIAN TEXAN HERO AT THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO - 1836. The Bernardi monument was dedicated by Governor James V. Allred on Columbus Day, October 12, 1936, during the Texas Centennial Exposition. Dallas mayor George M. Sergeant, Commendatore Barlotomeo Migone, First Secretary to the Royal Italian Embassy in Washington, D.C., and other dignitaries attended the unveiling ceremony and the commemorative banquet held that evening. "Prospero Bernardi," Governor Allred said, "was one of the many unsung heroes, who fought and gave their blood for Texas 100 years ago. Some of them are known like Bernardi, others are unknown, but all live in the hearts of our people."[20]

Bernardi was born in Italy in 1794, but virtually nothing is known about his early life. He was a notary by trade. The names of his parents, the region of his birth, his religious and political affiliations, and the number of his children, if any, are not known. His honorable discharge from the Texian army states that in 1837 he was 38 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches tall, with dark complexion, dark eyes, and black hair. Bernardi's service record, signed by Captain John Smith and approved by Secretary of War William L. Fisher, indicates that the Italian received a medical discharge because of a spinal injury sustained during combat.[21] He probably died shortly thereafter.

Other Italians also struggled for the independence of Texas. One of the most noteworthy was Orazio Donato Gideon de Attellis, Marquis of Sant'Angelo. Orazio de Attellis was born in Sant'Angelo Limosani (Molise) on October 22, 1774. He arrived in America on May 20, 1824, and later taught, wrote, and founded schools in New York City and Mexico City. While in Mexico City, the Marquis began a newspaper, *El Correo Atlantico,* in which he advocated Texas independence. The Mexican government struck back immediately, and on June 25, 1835, the Italian was ordered to leave Mexico. He and his wife sailed from Vera Cruz to New Orleans, where he became openly dedicated to the cause of Texas independence.[22]

Attellis continued printing his paper in New Orleans, publicizing the Texas cause in Spanish, English, Italian, and French. He lashed out fiercely at the Mexican position. *The Telegraph and Texas Register* (August 23, 1836) called him ". . . a devoted friend of Texas ... ."[23] The Marquis also spoke at public meetings in an effort to raise money and enlist volunteers for Texas.[24] Finally, he tried to arouse public opinion in Europe in favor of Texas by sending files to European newspapers.[25] On January 9, 1839, "the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Texas in Congress assembled"

donated "one league of land" to O. de A. Santangelo with the "thanks of Congress for the firm and zealous support with which he has maintained the cause of Texas independence in the periodical *'El Correo Atlantico'* in opposition to the oppression of the enemies of civil and religious liberty."[26]

Giuseppe Cassini was another Italian who strongly advocated that Texas should be liberated from Mexico. Mexicans called him Jose Cassiano. He was born in 1791 at San Remo, near Genoa (Liguria), on the Italian Riviera, the son of Geronimo Cassini and Catalina Cabassa. He procured a British passport dated November 20, 1816, from the Consul of Great Britain at Marseilles, and sailed to New Orleans. Cassini moved to San Antonio and lived there during the period of Mexican sovereignty over Texas. On April 12, 1826, he married Donna Gertrudis Perez, the widow of Don Antonio Cordero Y Bustamente, the Military and Political Governor of Texas before Mexican independence. With an inheritance from her father and the great wealth of Cordero, added to Cassini's vast possessions, they were easily the richest couple in the city of San Antonio. Giuseppe Cassini was openly sympathetic with, and very generous to, the movement for indepence from Mexico.

Cassini made an important cash loan to Sam Houston that was instrumental in financing the war. In recognition of this fact, on June 21, 1836, General Thomas J. Rusk issued instructions which accorded Cassini the privilege of boarding any ship bound for New Orleans with his family, servants, and household effects. Cassini could import into the ports of Galveston, Velasco, or Matagorda any goods he chose, free of charge. This was only a small reward in comparison to the great generosity of Cassini. In the winter of 1835, he provided his home, food, arms, and other supplies for the Texas army when they entered San Antonio. The Italian also offered to give the United States Government 500 acres of land located on the Rio Grande just opposite the Presidio del Rio Grande. This contract was signed in 1849 by E.B. Babbitt, Quartermaster of the United States Government, and by Giuseppe Cassini, as witnessed by W.W. Harrison,[27] Cassini became a naturalized American citizen before his death on January 1, 1862.

In proportion to their numbers, Italians and Irishmen contributed significantly to the Texas War for Independence. The roles played by Father John Molloy, Giuseppe Cassini, and Prospero Bernardi are especially noteworthy. At great risk to his life, on February 27, 1836, at San Patricio, Father Molloy, intervened on behalf of Colonel F.W. Johnson and his company of Texas soldiers. The Texans were condemned to be shot on orders from General Santa Anna. Father Molloy spoke in fluent Spanish to Mexican General Jose Urrea, who was charged with carrying out the order, and persuaded him not to execute

the prisoners immediately.[28] Giuseppe Cassini provided critical financial assistance to the Texas army, and Prospero Bernardi received a serious, perhaps a fatal wound fighting the enemies of Texas.

NOTES

[1]Miles S. Bennett, "The Battle of Gonzales, the 'Lexington' of the Texas Revolution," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly [Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association]*, II (1898), 313-316.

[2]Hobart H. Huson, *Refugio: A Comprehensive History of Refugio County from Aboriginal Times to 1953*, (Woodsboro, 1953), p. 229.

[3]Don Vicente Filiosola, *Memorias Para La Historia De La Guerra De Tejas* (Mexico, 1849), 355-359; James M. Day, *General Vicente Filisola, Evacuation of Texas* (Waco, 1965).

[4]Comptroller's Military Records, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; Huson, *Refugio: A Comprehensive History*, I, 226; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Texas and the North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1889), II, 224.

[5]Eugene C. Barker, *The Austin Papers*, III. Philip Dimitt to Austin, Goliad, October 31, 1835, 222; see Ira Ingram to T.R. Royal, Goliad, October 31, 1835, William C. Binkley, *Official Correspondence of the Texas Revolution*, 1835-1936, I, 34-35.

[6]Binkley, *Official Correspondence*, I, 83-84; John Brendan Flannery, *The Irish Texans* (San Antonio, 1980), 72.

[7]Binkley, *Official Correspondence*, I, 83-84; William H. Oberste, *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies* (Austin, 1953), 158-159.

[8]John Henry Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 412; Oberste, *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies*, 164.

[9]Huson, *Refugio: A Comprehensive History*, I, 38.

[10]These men are mentioned in: Roy Grimes, *300 Years in Victoria County* (Victoria, 1968), 119-120; Camp Ezell, *Historical Story of Bee County, Texas* (Beeville, 1973), 22; William H. Oberste, *Our Lady Comes to Refugio* (Corpus Christi, 1944), 65.

[11]For the text of the Goliad Declaration of Independence, H.P.N. Gammell, *The Laws of Texas*, 817-820.

[12]Consult Mary Agnes Mitchell Simmons, *The First Flag of Texas Independence* which cites the reminiscences of Nicholas Fagan. See also Mamie Wynne Cox, Romantic Flags of Texas, 180-182.

[13]Comptroller's Military Records, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; "The Story of the Alamo," a pamphlet published by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, contains the names and origins of the Alamo heroes.

[14]For a detailed description of the Battle of Refugio, consult Oberste, *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies*, 198-217.

[15]Huson, *Refugio: A Comprehensive History*, Brown, *History of Texas*, I, 624-628.

[16]W.L. Kemp and S.H. Dixon, *The Heroes of San Jacinto* (Houston, 1932), 97, 102, 190, 222, 281, 282; Comptroller's Military Records, Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas; Oberste, *Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies*, 218.

[17]San Jacinto Notebook, Be-Bor - biographical sketch for Bernardi, Prospero, The General Libraries Office, The University of Texas at Austin, Perry-Castaneda Library, Austin, Texas.

[18]Kemp and Dixon, *The Heroes of San Jacinto*, 110; Audited Military Claims, and the Kemp Papers (MSS Collection), Texas State Library, State Archives and Library Building, Austin, Texas.

[19]Thomas Lloyd Miller, *Bounty and Donation Land Grants of Texas 1835-1888* (Austin, 1967), 105. 1st Headright Certificate, cert. #294, Kleberg County, issued Feb. 10, 1838; registered and approved March 16, 1859. Certificate #3066, Somervill County, survey no. 12 of land entitled B, by certificate issued by the Board of Land Commissioners for Harrisburg County. Survey April 20, 1838; Kemp and Dixon, *The Heroes of San Jacinto,* 110.

[20]*Dallas Morning News,* October 12, 1936, Section II, 1, 8; October 13, 1936, 1.

[21]*Dallas Guide and History.* Written and compiled by the Dallas unit of the Texas Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration, 1940, 630; Service Record No. 562, on file with the Dallas Historical Society, Library and Archives Research Center, Dallas, Texas.

[22]Luciano G. Rusich, "Marquis of Sant'Angelo, Italian-American Patriot and Friend to Texas," *italian americana,* V, 1 (Fall/Winter, 1979), 8-17; Rusich, *Un Carbonaro Molisano Nei Due Mondi: Samnium 1981-1982* (Napoli, 1982), 122-127.

[23]James E. Winston, "New Orleans Newspapers and the Texas Question, 1835-1937," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI, (October 1932), 119.

[24]Charles A. Gulick, Jr., *et al.,* "O. de A. Santangelo Petition to the Honorable Congress of the Republic of Texas," *Lamar Papers,* (Austin, 1968), II, 143-152.

[25]"George Fisher to Austin," *The Austin Papers,* III, 421.

[26]Copy of the joint resolution passed by the Congress of Texas, authenticated by the U.S. Consul in Marseille on April 20, 1848, BNN:Ms V A 48/6. Part of the same authenticated document is a copy of the certificate issued by the Board of Land Commissioners of Harrisburg County and a sworn declaration by Santangelo.

[27]Evelyn M. Carrington, *Women in Early Texas* (Austin, 1975), 56. Two interesting accounts of Giuseppe Cassiano and his family are published in the "S.A. Express," August 30, 1936; and the "Texas Pioneer" magazine, August, 1930.

[28]Charles A. Gulick, Jr., and Winnie Allen (eds.), *The Papers of Mirabeau Bonaparte Lamar,* (Austin, 1924), V, 382; Rachel B. Hebert, *The Forgotten Colony: San Patricio de Hibernia* (Austin, 1981), 118-120.

THE JASPER - NEWTON PHENOMENON

by Russell Wahmann

A curious phenomenon occurs in American geography in that "Jasper" and "Newton" appear as names of adjacent, or conterminous, counties in five states.[1] I first came upon this while working as a compass and chain surveyor in East Texas in 1946. There seemed nothing unusual about this at the time. A few years later my work required me to be in Missouri, where I noticed the two names again, as counties, and again conterminous, in the southwestern corner of that state. A mental note suggested a coincidence. I discovered this coincidence again in Mississippi and still later in Indiana. It was now time to ask, "What is this all about?" Two counties with the same combination of names, always adjacent?

Examination of a map of counties of the United States reveals the incidence again in Georgia. Further inspection shows the names in association as city-county or as township-county. Where townships are named, rather than numbered, primarily in the eastern United States, this occurs several times (Table 1). The incidence of togetherness, as geographic place names, appear no less than eleven times.

Virtually every state has a resource reference that explains the origin and history of place names within that state.[2] Many place names honor individuals who have significantly contributed to the military history of our county. Generals, colonels, and politicians have little trouble being remembered and so honored. "Jasper" and "Newton" were sergeants who fought in the American Revolution. Both served under Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox" of the Carolinas.[3]

In the fall of 1779 the arrival of 6000 French troops off the coast of Georgia gave the Americans under Major General Benjamin Lincoln a temporary superiority. The French and Americans joined in a siege of the British base at Savannah. The British commander, Major General Augustus Prevost, took advantage of French delays in getting into position to strengthen his entrenchments and call in reinforcements from outlying posts. When the main assault came, the British repulsed the allies from strongly entrenched positions and the French and Americans suffered heavy losses.

Sergeant William Jasper (1750-1779), who had been a hero at the Battle of Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, a year earlier, was killed during the siege in an attempt to raise the American flag in a manner similar to the famed Iwo Jima flag raising in World War II. But

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Russell Wahmann lives in Cottonwood, Arizona.

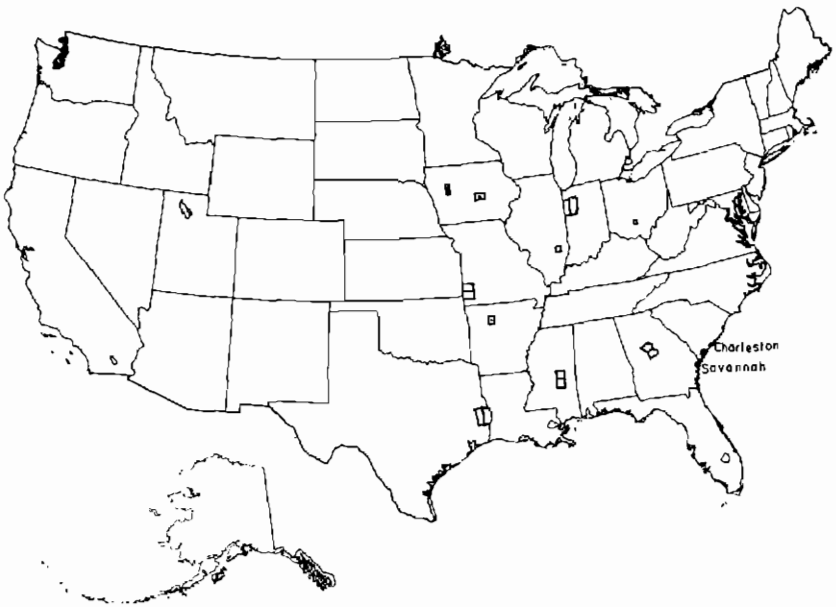

Table I
The Phenomenon of Conterminance

STATE	COUNTY	COUNTY SEAT	TOWNSHIP
Arkansas	Newton	Jasper**	
Georgia	Jasper *		
	Newton		
Illinois	Jasper	Newton	
Indiana	Jasper *		Newton
	Newton		
Iowa	Jasper	Newton	Newton
	Carroll		Jasper
			Newton
Missouri	Jasper *		
	Newton		
Mississippi	Jasper *	Newton	
	Newton		
Ohio	Pike	Jasper	Newton
Texas	Jasper *	Jasper	
	Newton	Newton	

* *Conterminance* ** *Not named for William Jasper*

he and his comrad, Sergeant John Newton (1755-1780), are remembered most for another reason. In October 1779 they conducted a daring raid to rescue ten American prisoners who were to be hanged by the British. This happened at a place now called Jasper Springs, near Savannah.[4] The deed is commemorated in a painting that hangs in the Senate wing of the United States Capitol.[5] In May 1780 Newton was taken prisoner after the surrender of Charleston and died soon afterward of smallpox on board a British prison ship.

Most of the Jaspers and Newtons in the eastern United States are named for these two heros. Some of course have other origins.[6] One exception is Newton County, Arkansas, where Jasper is the county seat. This Newton is named for Thomas Willoughby Newton, United States Representative from Arkansas in 1847.[7]

William Jasper served in Colonel William Moultrie's Second South Carolina Infantry, a regiment of Marion's command.[8] A statue of Jasper stands in Madison Square, Savannah.[9] Newton was probably in the same unit.

Jasper County, Georgia, originally was named Randolph County in 1807, but because of Congressman John Randolph's opposition to the War of 1812, the county was renamed in Jasper's honor.[10] In 1821, when a new county was formed from Henry, Jasper, and Walton counties, it was named for Newton.[11] Newton is a common name for habitation because of a combination of circumstances. It is a common English place name and a common personal name.[12] With the great surge of trans-Appalachian migration following the American Revolution and the War of 1812 from the antebellum South, the settlers took the memories of their heros with them and planted them in new locations. This is what happened with Jasper and Newton. Their memory is linked in this unusual display of place name proximity. As Newton and Jasper were side by side in life, fighting for a cause, so they remained side by side, their names on a map of the country they helped to create.

NOTES

[1]Texas, Missouri, Mississippi, Indiana, Georgia.

[2]Texas: Walter Prescott Webb, (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas*, (2 vols., Austin, 1975). Missouri: David W. Eaton, *How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams Were Named*, reprinted from *Missouri Historical Review*, 10 (April, 1916). Indiana: E. Chamberlain, *The Indiana Gazatteer or Topographical Dictionary of the State of Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1849). Georgia: Kenneth K. Krakow, *Georgia Place Names* (Macon, 1975).

[3]There are sixteen place names for Marion, three in proximity with Jasper and

Newton. In Webb, *The Handbook of Texas*, II, 277, Newton is mentioned as a corporal.

[4]Krakow, *Georgia Place Names*, 119.

[5]"Sergeants Jasper and Newton Rescuing American Prisoners from the British," John Blake White, c. 1810-1915. Gift of Dr. Octavius A. White in 1899. It hangs in the Senate wing on the third floor of the Capitol.

[6]George R. Stewart, *American Place Names* (New York, 1970).

[7]Joseph Nathan Kane, *The American Counties* (New York, 1960), 198.

[8]Kane, *The American Counties*, 147.

[9]Krakow, *Georgia Place Names*, 119.

[10]Kane, *The American Counties*, 147.

[11]Krakow, *Georgia Place Names*, 161.

[12]Stewart, *American Place Names*, 327.

THE OLD TOWN OF HUNTSVILLE: THE PERSPECTIVES OF ESTILL AND THOMASON

by Jack W. Humphries

Two men — one a Virginian and one a native Texan — have written about the old town of Huntsville. In terms of birth dates Harry Fishburne Estill and John W. Thomason, Jr. were a generation apart. yet in many respects they were contemporaries, and the perspectives on Huntsville they offered give evidence of a heritage common to both and provide insights into the development of a Southern community which was regarded somewhat accurately as both a "backwater" town and the crossroads of middle Texas.[1]

Estill presented a paper entitled "The Old Town of Huntsville," in January of 1900, at the midwinter meeting of the Texas State Historical Association held in Huntsville. It is this perspective of "the old town of Huntsville" which is considered together with the perspective of John W. Thomason, Jr., a native of Huntsville, Walker County, Texas. Estill recounted both the origins and early history of Huntsville, and his perceptions are viewed in the light of those offered by Thomason and other contemporary Huntsville historians who observed from the unassailable vantage point offered by the passing of time. Although born in Virginia, Estill spent almost seven decades of his life in Huntsville, Texas. From 1872, when his father, Charles Patrick Estill, accepted a teaching position at old Austin College in Huntsville, until his death in 1942, Harry Estill endured the rigorous classical curriculum of Austin College, enrolled in 1879 and was graduated at the top of the first class in 1880 of Sam Houston Normal Institute, filled the teaching vacancy at the Institute created by his father's death in 1882, subsequently succeeded to the presidency of the Institute, and then guided the evolution of Sam Houston Normal for twenty-nine years to a full-fledged, accredited, degree-granting teachers' college by the time of his retirement in 1937. Then, almost as a postscript to an already distinguished career, he spent five more years as president emeritus and as a serious student of history, making almost daily trips to campus to continue his personal writings and research.[2]

In 1893 Estill collaborated with Oscar Henry Cooper, a former colleague and a distinguished educator in his own right, and Mark Lemon in writing the *History of Our Country.* Seven years later, he completed *A Beginner's History of Our Country,* which remained popular for many years as an elementary school text and secured his reputation as both a historian and a writer of textbooks. In fact,

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Jack W. Humphries is president of Sul Ross State University at Alpine. Formerly he was Vice President of Sam Houston State University, Huntsville.

during his years of emeritus service to Sam Houston State Teachers College, he worked diligently to collect information which he hoped to use in writing a history of education in Texas.[3]

Harry Estill loved Huntsville and developed a fervent appreciation for its heritage. His Huntsville had its origins "near a bold spring of pure water, a few yards distant from the edge of a small prairie that lay like an oasis in the vast forest around it." In this idyllic setting the community developed, "properly classed among the old towns of Texas in whose annals men and events are recorded whose influence extended far beyond the limits of town and county." The educational, religious, and cultural cornerstones of the community were secured by the establishment of several churches during the 1840s, a brick academy and a Masonic Lodge in 1844, and the first newspaper, *The Montgomery Patriot,* in 1845.[4]

In Estill's judgment the first period of local history closed in 1846 when the new county of Walker was organized and Huntsville became the county seat. Soon a courthouse was built on the public square, the state agreed to locate the first penitentiary in Huntsville, Austin College, a Presbyterian school, opened in 1850, and Andrew Female College accepted its first students in 1853. Estill cited Melinda Rankin's 1850 account as evidence of Huntsville's promise and future: "A concentration of talent, enterprise, and morality is proven by the history of the town [Huntsville], and gives abundant reason for predicting its future course to be brilliant and consequential."[5]

The future, however, was not devoid of problems. Beginning at mid-century and continuing for several decades, the horizon was clouded. Efforts to secure the location of the state capital in Huntsville failed. Austin College was plagued continually with enrollment and money problems, and its law department—although the first in the state—lasted only two years. Then came "the madness of the Civil War," a dreadful, costly conflict which totally disrupted the South and Huntsville in particular. Huntsville's loyalty and spirit was aligned with the Southern Confederacy — notwithstanding the foreboding presence of General Sam Houston who had returned to Huntsville as "an old lion feeling all his wounds," to live out his life after refusing as governor to swear allegiance to the Confederacy. Not even the skill and leadership of "our matchless Lee," as Estill fondly remembered him, could overcome Union superiority. As Mae Wynne McFarland recalled, "Scarcely a family failed to send boys or men to the front, and many homes lost loved ones."[6]

Community spirit was depressed further in 1867 when a yellow fever epidemic claimed ten percent of the community's population. The decision in 1871 of the Houston and Great Northern Railroad to construct its main line east of Huntsville dealt the community yet another economic blow, and the relocation of Austin College to

Sherman in 1876 seemed to collapse all hopes. Huntsville, for a brief moment, seemed destined to go the way of old Cincinnati, its river port neighbor to the north, which had succumbed to disease and the loss of riverboat traffic.[7]

The concluding year in the decade of the 1870s ended on an encouraging note for Huntsville. The legislature decided to locate the state's first normal school in Huntsville in the building previously occupied by old Austin College. The institute's beginning may have been as unpredictable as were Governor Oran Milo Roberts' sweeping gestures as he welcomed guests during the dedication ceremonies and, in the process, toppled a glass of water on the speaker's stand. The governor recovered quickly and buoyed both school and community aspirations with the comment, "Well, you need not think that this school is going to topple over like that." With the founding of the institute and the commencement of the 1880s, Estill pronounced an end to the historic period of Huntsville.[8]

To the students at the normal school, as well as to many community residents, it was Estill who became "matchless," just as Estill had regarded General Robert E. Lee in his earlier writing. Estill's scholarly yet decidedly personable demeanor literally dominated both campus and community. Mary Kerr McDaniel's recollection captures both his spirit and humanity. Estill, who was deeply schooled in Latin, preferred a free reading, as opposed to a literal reading, of a passage. On one occasion Estill called upon a fellow classmate of Mrs. McDaniel's to translate a sentence. The young man stood and recited: "Caesar had a darned hard time crossing the Alps." The class sat spellbound momentarily while assessing whether Estill's stern moral code and decorum would see any humor in so free a translation. Then the class, led by Estill, burst into laughter. Estill observed: "That was a good reading, Charles, and I agree with you."[9]

The Old Town of Huntsville moved gracefully, yet slowly, into the twentieth century, carrying with it a legacy steeped in Confederate lore and a culture differentiated only by statute from the antebellum South. Estill succeeded to the presidency of Sam Houston Normal Institute in 1908 after the death of Henry Carr Pritchett. He served as president of the school for almost three decades while it changed from a normal school to a state teachers college, began to grant baccalaureate and graduate degrees, achieved accreditation, and added significantly to its physical facilities. Thomason reported in the mid-1930s that "The Sam Houston College is a modern and admirable plant, producing teachers."[10] But in 1900 Estill could observe only that

> . . . modern ways and city airs have gradually taken hold of and revolutionized the old town. A new graded school building, new churches, a new court house, new stores, handsome residences,

> an ice factory, electric light plant, telephone system, and other evidences of twentieth century civilization are now found where sixty-four years ago the wind sighed through the pine trees that surrounded the trading post of Pleasant Gray.

In a gently pontificating manner, he concluded: "Thus is Beauty ever slain by Utility!"[11]

If indeed a historic era of Huntsville ended in 1880, as Estill contended, another began promptly. John W. Thomason, Jr., a native Texan, was born in Huntsville in 1893. He was the eldest of nine children born to Dr. John W. and Sue Hayes Goree Thomason. In a fashion truly reflecting the talents which he embodied, he emerged as a prolific writer whose skill was acclaimed by J. Frank Dobie, as an artist whose reputation in recent years has become not only secure but esteemed, and as a soldier whose military achievements distinguished him. He pursued his formal education at Southwestern University, Sam Houston Normal Institute, The University of Texas at Austin, the Art Students League in New York, and the Army and Navy War Colleges. Prior to his premature death in 1944, he progressed to the rank of colonel in the United States Marine Corps.[12]

In a reminiscence in the mid-thirties, Thomason recalled that the withdrawn situation of Huntsville, occasioned by missing the main rail line, was not without advantage:

> The main tide of progress, beginning slowly to flow into the South towards the end of the century, passed by with the main line of the railroad, and set the town as it were in a backwater. It was left sleepy and contemplative, with its school at each end of a mile-long street, and many churches between, whose bells rang artless antiphonies of Sunday mornings. The old and pleasant way remained; young gentlemen waited, as they say, on young ladies, or, more elegantly, paid their addresses, with bouquet and serenade. Social calls were made on Christmas mornings, and on New Year's afternoons. Gentlefolk passed the saloons with averted faces, and small boys were enjoined to stay away from the wagon yard, especially on Saturdays; there were frequently shootings on Saturdays. The bloods of the town rejoiced in light, high buggies, and there was good horseflesh on the roads. Families drove sedately in carriages and surreys on Sunday afternoons — large families, four to ten in a lot, who grew up, and married locally, and begot sons and daughters in their turn. The town lived much among its memories: the veterans of the Confederacy held the county offices as stoutly against old age as they had held Richmond against Grant, knowing the end to be inevitable, but with no bowing of the head; and the old soldiers sat in congenial groups that followed the sun and the shade with the seasons around the court house, from one year's end to the next.[13]

The halcyon era of Huntsville as seen by Estill and Thomason endured several more decades without interruption. World War I impacted subtly at first, then more sharply, upon the "backwater" community and its populace. By 1917 it was effecting adversely the enrollment at Sam Houston Normal Institute, and by 1918 a unit of the

Students' Army Training Corps was organized on the institute campus. Some citizens and even more of the students shared the frustrated patriotism of the young campus journalist for whom food pledges serving rooms, and war songs were not enough: "[we] wished we could poison the kaiser or do something." However, the war passed quickly, at least for Huntsville, leaving few vestiges and little change in the wake of its passage.[14]

As the American Expeditionary Forces were pulled out of Europe, the national "return to normalcy" encouraged Huntsville to withdraw again to its secure position as an enclave of nineteenth-century tradition conveniently protected by the pine forests of East Texas. Both the vast number of unpaved streets and footpaths as well as the town's awkward access to the main line of the railroad restated the resistance to change. Students and townspeople alike complained of the mud and impassable streets and roads. Mary Sexton Estill, a daughter of Harry Fishburne Estill, recalled of her early days in the community that to think of Huntsville was to thing of *mud.* Wet weather — and there was much of it in Huntsville — forced activity to a standstill. Complained one alumnus in 1920, "Never before or since have I seen an uglier place than Huntsville . . . Up hill and down dale it went with black mud everywhere . . ." Even the introduction of the motor vehicle offered little relief until paved roads became commonplace.[15]

The rail link with the outside world certainly posed no threat to the isolation and comfortable provincialism of the community. Stories abound regarding why the old Houston and Great Northern Railroad — the International and Great Northern Railroad's precedessor — built its main line seven miles to the east of Huntsville through the Phelps community. Thomason suggested that the profiteering of a few local merchants in their dealings with railroad construction gangs aroused the ire of railroad officials, so they simply built their road elsewhere. Estill attributes the Phelps bypass to the failure of the Huntsville citizenry to offer a sufficiently large bonus to railway officials to build their line through the town.[16]

For whatever reason, the main line missed, or "dodged," as some would contend, Huntsville. Immediately community-minded citizens organized the Huntsville Branch Railway Company to lay track for the critical seven miles to Phelps — at a staggering cost to the community, since they are now at the railroad's mercy. Nevertheless, the price of pride was paid, but the tap line access to the I & GN was never the same as main line prominence.[17]

The Indian summer of the old town of Huntsville was characterized further by the blacks. As Thomason noted, "there were always Negroes . . ." The Aunt Janes and Uncle Eds abounded, carving out existences for themselves — even modest livelihoods in some cases —

in the stark landscape of the New South. The annual festive celebration of Juneteenth marked the slavery emancipation day in Texas with the support from black and white alike. Thomason recalled another custom in which his parents continued for years to provide an annual dinner to all of the Negroes who had worked for the family as slaves prior to emancipation.

> . . . they would talk together of gentlemen and horses fifty years dead, of drouths and great winds and 'possum hunts half a lifetime past. And the thought has come to me: they never belonged to us — we belonged to them . . .[18]

However, the changes in Huntsville which impressed Estill in 1900 were incidental when compared with those which Thomason saw in the 1930s.

> The concrete highways, traced where not many years ago our horses bogged in the wintertime, have opened Huntsville to the world . . . the last of the Confederate veterans has ridden slow to the cemetery, to sleep with Sam Houston under the oak trees and the cedars . . . It [Huntsville] endured the Negro cavalry and the vulturine politicians of the Reconstruction. It sits tolerantly under the Stars and Stripes again and is hospitable to the CCC. It has, I think, that rare and lovely thing called the sense of proportion.

Perhaps it was a fear of losing this sense of proportion which shaped Estill's melancholy in 1900.[19]

The era of historic Huntsville did not end with Estill's benediction in 1880. The irony is that far more significant milestones marking the passage of yet another historic era with the death of both Estill and Thomason within a two-year period in the early 1940s. These two totally different, though remarkably talented men, were imprinted indelibly by the legacy of a single war — a war which disrupted their respective ways of life. They were influenced strongly by two other wars, one with Spain in 1898 and then the first of the world conflicts, in 1917-18; but the even greater global conflict of World War II, which would indeed conclude a historic era for Huntsville, was one whose termination neither would see. It was this war which would, contrary to the hopes of both, thrust the "backwater" community of Huntsville squarely into the twentieth century and confront it with both challenges and opportunities which would test the mettle of its citizens as they struggled to accept the encroachment of change and progress while preserving a rich and precious heritage.[20]

NOTES

[1]John W. Thomason, Jr., "Huntsville," *Southwest Review,* (April, 1934), (quotation). Harry Fishburne Estill was born on August 12, 1861, in Lexington, Virginia. For biographical data on Harry Fishburne Estill, see Mary Sexton Estill, *Vision Realized*

(Huntsville, 1970), 218-221. John W. Thomason, Jr. was born February 28, 1893, in Huntsville, Texas.

[2]Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, III (April, 1900), 265-278; Mary Sexton Estill, *Vision Realized*, 218- 221; and August J. Lawrence, comp., "Faculty of Sam Houston Normal Institute and of Sam Houston State Teachers College, 1879-1940," undated, Sam Houston State University Library, Huntsville, Texas.

[3]Mary Sexton Estill, *Vision Realized*, 218- 221.

[4]Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 266-268.

[5]Estill, *Vision Realized*, 269-273; and Melinda Rankin, *Texas in 1850* (reprint edition, Waco, 1966), 144.

[6]John W. Thomason, Jr., "Huntsville," 557; Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 276; Mae Wynne McFarland, "A History of Huntsville," The Huntsville Item, March 6, 1941. Mae Wynne McFarland researched carefully early Huntsville history in anticipation of a writing a history of the town. This ambition was never realized; however, the McFarland papers are deposited in the Sam Houston State University Library and offer a valuable collection of notes and materials on nineteenth and early twentieth century Huntsville, Walker County, and East Texas.

[7]Harry F. Estille, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 276-277.

[8]Thomas U. Taylor, "Old Austin College Hall," *Frontier Times*, XVII (January, 1940), 146; Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 31.

[9]Mary Kerr McDaniel, *Reflections of Ninety Years* (Beverly Hills, California, 1977), 121.

[10]John W. Thomason, Jr., "Huntsville," 62.

[11]Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 277.

[12]D-Anne McAdams Crews (ed.), *Huntsville and Walker County, Texas: A Bicentennial History* (Huntsville, Texas, 1976), 4; J. Frank Dobie, "John W. Thomason," *Southwest Review*, XXIX (Summer, 1944), x.

[13]John W. Thomas, Jr., "Huntsville," 57-58.

[14]Texas, State Normal School Board of Regents, Minutes, Office of the President, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas, meeting of 31 May 1918; and Houstonian (Huntsville, Texas) November 13, 1918.

[15]East Texas Bicentennial Oral History Commission, Institutional History Interview with Mary Sexton Estill, Sam Houston State University, Department of History, 1976, 3; and 1920 Reunion Scrapbook of first graduating class (1880) of Sam Houston Normal Institute, Sam Houston State University Library, 179.

[16]Thomason, "Huntsville," 57; and Harry F. Estill, "The Old Town of Huntsville," 276.

[17]Walter Prescott Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon Stephen Branda (eds.), *The Handbook of Texas* (3 vols.; Austin, 1952, 1976) I, 867.

[18]Thomason, "Huntsville," 60.

[19]Thomason, "Huntsville," 64.

[20]Harry Fisburne Estill died February 12, 1942, and John W. Thomason, Jr. died March 12, 1944. Both are buried in Oakwood Cemetery in Huntsville, Texas.

A LETTER FROM LEONARD RANDAL TO HIS SON

by Max S. Lale

The best known example of father-son relationships in modern history is Dwight D. Eisenhower and his son John. Other father-son combinations abound in military history, however. More as a function of age than for other reasons, such pairings almost without exception involve a son subordinate to a father in grade and authority. Experience and the hierarchical nature of military service dictate the relationship.

An unusual reversal of this familial relationship — the father subordinate to the son — is revealed in a letter in the possession of James Thomas Jones, Jr., of Dallas,[1] a copy of which is in the archives of the Harrison County Historical Museum in Marshall. The letter is from Leonard Randal,[2] regimental surgeon of the 28th Texas Cavalry, C.S.A., to his son Horace Randal,[3] commander of a brigade in Walker's Texas Division. In it, the father sets out his reasons for requesting permission to resign his commission and to leave his post as acting surgeon of his son's brigade. The letter follows:

Head Quarters, Randal's Brigade,
Walker's Division, Camp near Pine Bluff
22nd March 1863

Col Horace Randal
Comdg Brigade

Sir I have the honor through you to tender my resignation as Surgeon P.A.C.S. 28th Texas Calvary.

I am sixty three years of age (63) and find my health fast failing — I had hoped to see the end of the war before withdrawing from the service, but advanced age, worn down by protracted Diarrhea, renders it imperative that I should withdraw. I have *two sons* and *three sons-in-laws* in the service all of whom have families, my own family, and five orphan grandchildren, all dependant on me for protection.

These reasons I hope may be found sufficient to justify me for asking to be released from the service by tendering my resignation, and I trust that this will meet with the speedy approval of my immediate and other commanders as well as at the War Department.

I am, Sir,
Respectfully
Your Obedient
Leonard Randal
Surgeon, 9th Brigade
Walker's Division

Max S. Lale is a past president of the East Texas Historical Association. He is from Marshall and Fort Worth.

NOTES

[1]A great-great-grandson of Leonard Randal and the great-grandson of Mary M. Randal, Horace Randal's sister, who was born in Tennessee in 1837. Interview with Inez Hughes, director of the Harrison County Historical Museum, Marshall.

[2]Born in North Carolina on February 11, 1800, Leonard Randal migrated first to Tennessee and then to Texas after the Revolution, settling near San Augustine. He represented Shelby, Sabine, and Harrison Counties in the Senate in the called session of the Sixth Congress, 1842, and in the Seventh Congress, 1842-1843. During the Mexican-American War he was appointed assistant surgeon in the United States Army on March 3, 1847, and was assigned to the 12th Infantry. He resigned from the service August 3 of the same year. See *The Handbook of Texas*, (Austin 1952), II, 436.

[3]Horace Randal was born January 1, 1833, in Tennessee. As a member of the class of 1854, he was Texas' first graduate from the United States Military Academy, subsequently serving as a second lieutenant at a number of Western posts. He resigned his commission on February 27, 1861, and entered the military service of the Confederacy, first in Virginia as a private soldier. Later he organized the 28th Texas Calvary at Marshall. In Walker's Texas Division he commanded a brigade at the Battle of Mansfield in early April 1864. Unaware that he had been promoted to the grade of brigadier general to rank from April 8, he was killed at the Battle of Jenkin's Ferry in Arkansas on April 30 of the same year. He is buried in Marshall Cemetery in Marshall. Randall County is named for him. See Webb, *Handbook of Texas*, II, 436.

EAST TEXAS COLLOQUY

The Association held its 1985 Spring meeting in Kilgore, Texas. We headquartered on the campus of Kilgore College, especially in the East Texas Oil Museum. Museum Director and Association Vice President Joe L. White joined David Castles as chair of the program and local arrangements committee.

The Friday evening session was devoted to a tour of the Museum. On Saturday morning David Stroud, Bill O'Neal, Steve A. Lindsey, Fred Tarpley, and Lt. Col. H.R. Brantley read papers on Presentation Swords, the East Texas Country School, the Oil Museum, the Legacy of Frank Teich, and East Texans in Captivity.

The luncheon speaker was John H. Jenkins, who spoke on "Texas Books: Past and Future."

President William J. Brophy presided at the luncheon. Nelda Smith and Carla Neeld presided at the morning sessions.

Captain Charles K. Phillips of Nacogdoches received the Ralph W. Steen Award at the luncheon.

Association member Lincoln King received the Leadership Award presented by the Texas State Historical Association at its annual meeting in Fort Worth on March 2, 1985. King's students at Gary High School, under his direction, have published over thirty issues of *Loblolly* since 1973. Articles are based on oral interviews with sheriffs, farmers, mill workers, and other East Texans. "What we've been trying to do with the magazine is to discover, collect, and preserve the local and regional history of East Texas," said King. "While the students are doing this, they discover much, much more about themselves, their own roots, heritage, and culture."

King sponsors the Junior Historian Chapter at Gary High School.

Association member J. Milton Nance received the American Revolutionary History Award through the La Villita Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution on February 15, 1985. The Award consists of a bronze medal and a certificate "for outstanding achievement in promoting the study of American History."

Civil War buffs will be interested in a new publication, *Civil War Monitor, Review of Current Periodicals.* It focuses on the period from 1860 through 1865, and provides a bibliographic reference for publications dealing with the military, naval, state and local, economic, cultural and biographical studies of the American Civil War period.

It may be ordered from J.L. Harsh, Civil War Monitor, Box 1776, Centreville, VA 22020.

Board member Melvin Mason of Sam Houston State University announced the availability of a videotape, "Martha Mitchell of Possum Walk Road: Quiltmaker." In the presentation the viewer visits with Mrs. Mitchell while she quilts, paints, and feeds the birds and squirrels. The program was produced by Sam Houston State University in cooperation with KAMU-TV, with funding from the Texas Commission on the Arts, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the Meadows Foundation. Copies may be ordered from writer/producer Melvin Mason, Department of English, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas 77341.

The Association co-sponsored a series of lectures on Texas History with the Smith County Historical Society and the Texas State Historical Association in Tyler. Beginning on April 2 and continuing through May 14, seven lectures were presented by Texas history scholars Dr. James Corbin, Dr. Sandra Myres, Dr. Archie P. McDonald, Dr. Thomas Kreneck, Mr. Max S. Lale, Dr. Randolph B. Campbell, and Dr. Ralph Wooster.

We also joined with the Texas State Historical Association to co-sponsor a History Awareness Workshop in Austin on August 15-16. This is an in-service program for teachers.

A number of publications have reached our desk. Among the more interesting is *Phil Coe: Texas Gambler,* by Association member Chuck Parsons. (Chuck Parsons, P.O. Box 203, South Wayne, Wisconsin 53587). This is the first biography of Coe, a son of a Texas pioneer, a Civil War veteran, and a professional gambler in Texas and Kansas during the cattle drive days. He was a companion of such noted gamblers as John Wesley Hardin, Ben Thompson, and Ben Hinds. The book covers Coe's early life but concentrates on his life as a gambler and his death following a gunfight with Marshal "Wild Bill" Hickok.

A similar sized book, altogether different in content, is *Governors of Texas, A Sesquicentennial Booklet of the Texas Almanac* (The Dallas Morning News, Communications Center, Dallas, TX 75265). It features a photo and biographical sketch of each governor of Texas from J. Pinckney Henderson to Mark White, with essays on the Governor's mansion, powers, and election returns.

Houston: A Twentieth Century Urban Frontier, by Francisco A.

Rosales and Barry Kaplan, editors (Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 90 South Bayles Avenue, Port Washington, NY 11050), contains nine essays on the history of Houston by David McComb, Kaplan, Charles Orson Cook, James Maroney, Rosales, Louis Marchiafava, Hyland Packard, Robert Haynes, and Don Carleton.

The University of Texas Press (P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713) has reissued J. Frank Dobie's *Apache Gold* and *Yaqui Silver,* a classic of Southwestern legend and lore. It explores the mysterious and alluring sagas of lost mines and high adventure. In this collection Dobie introduces us to Pedro Loco, General Mexhuira's ghost, the German, and a colorful group of odd fellows driven to roam the hills in an eternal quest for the hidden entrance, the blazed tree, the box canyon, and fabulous wealth glimpsed, lost, and never forgotten.

The Smith County Historical Society has published the Smith County Probate Records, Smith County, Texas 1846-1880. They were abstracted by Andrew L. Leath. You can obtain a copy from J. Wilkins, 2914 Pounds, Tyler, TX 75701. The cost is $15.00 plus tax and postage.

BOOK REVIEWS

Vanishing Breed. Photographs of the Cowboy and the West. By William A. Allard. (Little Brown & Co., 34 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02106), 1982. Photographs. P. 144. $14.95.

Printing Arts in Texas. By Al Lowman. (Jenkins Publishing Co., P.O. Box 2085, Austin, TX 78768), 1981. Photographs, Bibliography, Index. P. 107. $29.95

Vanishing Breed is a photo book that has to be read. Individually William Allard's photographs are, at times, mediocre, but he has provided just the right textual framework to tie this disparate collection of photographs into a meaningful photo essay. By the time the reader has worked his way through the book he intuitively understands why each photo was included. He also understands something of Allard's love affair with the West, the real subject of the book.

These pictures of cowboys, horses, dirt, dust, and the land go beyond being a simple collection of photographs. Some of them are exceptional photographic art, such as a Montana ranch house that looks like an Andrew Wyeth beach house or a Nevada calf-roping scene taken off a Charles Russell canvas.

At the heart of Allard's art, however, are his images, some subtle, some haunting, all of them statements about the modern yet somehow timeless American cowboy and his life and work. These photographs convey more than their visual substance. They convey both the artist's and the subject's feelings, which, after all, is what good art is supposed to do.

While *Vanishing Breed* is good art, *Printing Arts in Texas* by Al Lowman is about good art. It is a short but detailed history of quality printing in Texas. Lowman covers almost 160 years of Texas printing from the works of Samuel Bangs, beginning in 1817, to that of William Holman, whose design for this project won the Texas Institute of Letters Award for book design in 1975.

This book does two things well. It provides an outline of the development of quality printing in Texas with descriptions and illustrations of the work of a number of artists from the 1830s to the present. And, by the example of its own quality, it underscores the author's unspoken plea for greater attention to detail and rejection of mediocrity in the printing arts, a responsibility of the reader as well as the printer.

A book of this quality demands rigorous evaluation and *Printing Arts in Texas* has some faults. A major fault is the collection of the illustrations at the end of the book. This makes it awkward to refer to the illustrations as one reads the text. The illustrations themselves,

in monochrome, loose their sharpness on the book's light cream paper. The whole work, however, stands head and shoulders above the standard product of the American printing industry.

For anyone seriously interested in printing in Texas or printing in general, for the book collector or the eclectic collector of Texana, this book is a must.

Ron Spiller
Nacogdoches, Texas

Cotton. The Plant That Would Be King. By Bertha S. Dodge. (University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, Tx 78713), 1984. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. P. 175. $14.95.

This little book (163 pages of text) is a readable and entertaining account of the evolution of cotton growing from its ancient origins in both the Old World and the New and cotton manufacturing to the present era. Mrs. Dodge, an accomplished writer with over a dozen books to her credit, treats very well — with numerous personal insights — the invention and development of the various mechanisms, such as the spinning jenny and power loom, needed to create the modern cotton textiles industry. Her description of the American cotton industry, made possible through Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and Samuel Slater's successful cotton mill established in Rhode Island at about the same time, is especially well drawn. The role of Southern cotton in international politics during the American Civil War is told well. The concluding chapter, "The King's Rivals," discusses the competition from other fibers such as hemp, silk, and especially the synthetic fibers of recent years. Appropriate illustrations are interspersed throughout the book.

Cotton is obviously intended for the general reader. The specialist or professional scholar will not find much of great value in its pages. The work suffers from a lack of any notes (except for an occasional one to identify quotations), too many quotations (some, several pages in length and others connected together with only an interlinking sentence or two), and a rather sparse bibliography.

The definitive, scholarly history of cotton remains to be written. However, in the meantime Dodge has provided us with a brief, concise, and engaging account of the most important fiber ever known to man.

James M. Clifton
Southeastern Community
College
Whiteville, North Carolina

The Indian Man. A Biography of James Mooney. By L.G. Moses. (Univ. of Illinois Press, Box 5081, Station A, Champaign, IL 61820), 1984. Photographs, Notes, Bibliography, Index. P. 293. $24.95.

Born in 1861 of Irish immigrant parents, James Mooney grew up steeped in the lore and mythology of his Irish heritage from which sprang a consuming interest in American Indian ethnology and an exceptional sympathy for the underdog. These qualities often led Mooney into confrontations with missionaries, army officers, and bureaucrats of Indian Affairs who presumed monopolistic knowledge of what was good for Indians. Mooney saw assimilation as the ultimate goal even of his own research, but he was far ahead of his time in resisting violent destruction of Indian culture.

Mooney's great talent lay in field research, including an uncanny ability to win the confidence of Indian informants, as reflected in his publications relating to the Kiowas, Sioux, and Cherokees. Unfortunately, the researches of his latter years — and perhaps his finest ones — were unfinished and remain unpublished.

Mooney worked among many pioneers of American anthropology. While often professionally at odds with his colleagues, and little respected by some of them, Mooney's role was significant and his biography essential to understanding the emergence of professional anthropology and particularly ethnology of Native Americans.

The career of the "anthropological Irishman" evolved through a series of reasonably chronometrical phases which are the subjects of nine well-documented chapters. Moses' bibliography reflects diligent research in an array of archival collections and in secondary materials as well. He gives us a fine account of a fascinating life and a sound contribution to the literature of American history, anthropology, and Native American ethnology.

Frederick W. Rathjen
West Texas State University

Western Outlaws. The "Good Badman" In Fact, Film, And Folklore. By Kent Ladd Steckmesser. (Regina Books, Box 280, Claremont, CA 91711), 1984. Photographs, Bibliography, P. 172. $11.95 Paper; $18.95 Cloth.

In *Western Outlaws* Kent Steckmesser engagingly explores *The "Good Badman" In Film, Fact, And Folklore.* Professor Steckmesser first discusses Robin Hood, carefully tracing the development of the legends in England and searching for shreds of truth among the romantic tales. Then he brings the legend to America, analyzing his popularity as a charming, jolly rebel, and describing the books and motion pictures which have celebrated Robin Hood and his merry men. The reader's view next is turned to the outlaws of America,

rogues perceived to have robbed only the rich, at least occasionally helped the poor, and conducted themselves with a light-hearted flair, a sense of humor, and clever resourcefulness.

American outlaws "added to their appeal by being mounted" and the public "identified them with a fast-fading frontier individualism." [p. 15] Joaquin Murrietta is shown to have had as vague an existence in California as Robin Hood in England, but "literary manipulation . . . transformed ugliness into Beauty if not Truth." [p. 24] Next the career and popularization of Jesse James are examined. "It is conventional to call him 'the American Robin Hood,' but his legend has swollen to such dimensions that perhaps it is time to call Robin Hood the 'Jesse James of Old England.' " [p. 43] Billy the Kid, Butch Cassidy, and Pretty Boy Floyd each receive inspection in their turn, and each outlaw is shown to have developed similar appeal and a comparable path to lasting fame.

Steckmesser writes adroitly, and his background information is reliable and perceptively interpreted. The transformation of each bandit into a folk hero — through folklore, songs, dime novels, "biographies," motion pictures and television episodes — is traced in detail, revealing numerous insights into the psychology of the American public. One particularly interesting insight is the explanation of why certain outlaws — "Captain Lightfoot" (Michael Martin), "Lewis the Robber" (David Lewis), Jack Powers, Tom Bell, *et al.* — never managed to capture the imagination of the public.

The book is well-illustrated, featuring photographs of Western outlaws and towns, and still photos from movies about outlaws. There is no index, but the last fifteen pages of the book comprise a superb, chapter-by-chapter bibliographical essay which serves as a valuable guide to literature about the outlaws, their exploits, and the books, plays, and movies about them. The bibliography alone is worth the price of the volume, but *Western Outlaws* offers an appeal as broad as the traditional popularity of its subject.

Bill O'Neal
Panola Junior College

In the Line of Duty. Reflections of a Texas Ranger Private. By Lewis C. Rigler and Judyth Wagner Rigler. (Larksdale Press, 133 S. Heights Blvd., Houston, TX 77007), 1984. Photographs, P. 192, $12.95.

"You know, Ranger," the madam said to Private Lewis Rigler, "we're really in the same kind of business when you think about it. We're both trying to please the public in our own way." [p. 86].

In his own way, Rigler tried to please the public as a Texas Ranger for thirty years, and *In the Line of Duty* relates his experiences and

observations. For example, the chapter on "Ranger vs. Prostitutes" records Rigler's revulsion at having to pretend to buy a whore's services so he could arrest her, especially since convictions proved almost impossible to obtain. "Frankly," fumed Rigler, "I've always thought it was a waste of a Ranger's time and talents to go after whores." [p. 79]

Other lawbreakers were befriended by Rigler: "In fact, I liked a lot of the criminals better than I did some of their bondsmen and attorneys." [p. 120] With relish Rigler describes methods of thwarting the efforts of lawyers and bondsmen, such as the "East Texas Merry Go Round." When a thief was apprehended in one East Texas County, he immediately was whisked to another county so his lawyer would go to the wrong jail. For a week to ten days the prisoner would be whisked from one county jail to another; since many of them had a narcotics habit, they would spill "all the informations you needed" [p. 123] by the time they could be located by their attorneys.

It is with these behind-the-scenes revelations that Rigler's account of his career comes to life. Rigler first recalls his rural upbringing in McLennan County, then briefly describes his tenure in the Civilian Conservations Corps and in the United States Army. Married in 1937, he later joined the Department of Public Safety as a driver's license examiner. Rigler transferred to the Highway Patrol in 1942, then received a Ranger appointment in 1947 as a private in Company B. Headquartering in Gainesville, Rigler worked a variety of cases during the next three decades. These included brutal murders, mysterious disappearances, the Long Star Steel strikes of 1957 and 1968, guard assignments during presidential visits to Texas, as well as a host of other engrossing experiences. Rigler also describes legendary Ranger captains Bob Crowder, Tom Hickman, and Manuel (Lone Wolf) Gonzaulles.

In the Line of Duty contains several photographs but no index. Judyth Wagner Rigler, daughter-in-law of the retired Ranger, helped to write the book, but it remains a highly personal reminiscence with a captivating look at law enforcement. This book is a welcome addition to the lore of Texas Rangers during the twentieth century.

Bill O'Neal
Panola Junior College

The Texas Literary Tradition. Don Graham, James W. Lee, and William T. Pilkington, Editors. (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713), 1983. Photographs. P. 238. $10.00.

The Texas Literary Tradition: Fiction, Folklore, History is a necessity for any bookshelf remotely or closely concerned with "Texas," "Western," or even "Southern" literature. The collection

of pronouncements by writers, critics, historians, and sundry *aficionados* is certainly worth procuring for a number of reasons.

To begin with, the editors have paid a great deal of attention to the organization of the book. The "Introduction," at times a very readable bibliographical essay, will stand on its own. Graham, Lee, and Pilkington, while preserving the flavor of the meeting itself, provide the rationale for the organization of the materials included and excluded (Poetry and drama are not covered.) Also, the essay is accompanied by footnotes. The reader can track down the sources for the provincial-versus-universal, rural-versus-urban, Western-versus-Southern, and *belles-lettres*-versus-anecdotes and controversies as they are stated and rebutted by Larry McMurtry, A.C. Greene, and others in the *Observer* and the *Texas Humanist.*

The book, following the proceedings of the conference, is divided into six sections. Section One, "THE OLD GUARD," covers the triumvirate of Dobie, Webb, and Bedichek. As the editors quote McMurtry in their Introduction, "The writer . . . who wishes to write about this state must relate himself one way or the other to the tradition they fostered, whether he reads the three men or not." John Graves provides the overview of the "Old Three." His considerations of Dobie are the usual ones: Dobie's sentimentalism, love for the settings, lack of love or actual hate for form, refusal or inability to move toward fiction, the rejection of consistency in life and writing. Necah Furman finishes the section with a consideration of Webb as "Pioneer of the Texas Literary Tradition."

Sections II, and III, and IV are divisions of Texas prose literature into three main traditions: the Southern, the Western, and the Texas-Mexican. Specifically, Section II, "THE OLD ORDER," defines Texas' "Southern Roots," looks at the "Old South" in the tradition, considers "Universality," and reflects on Katherine Anne Porter's work as a dimension of the above concerns. Contributions are by Norman D. Brown, James W. Lee, Joan Givner, and William A. Owens.

Section III, "THE VANISHING FRONTIER" focuses on the "Texas Frontier," the "Frontier of the Imagination," and "Traditions." Essays are by William T. Pilkington, R.G. Vliet, and Beverly Stoeltje. Also in this section is "The Western and the Literary Ghetto," by Elmer Kelton. Kelton, author of *The Good Old Boys, The Day the Cowboys Quit, The Time it Never Rained, The Wolf and the Buffalo,* and many others, departs from the "perspective" of the other contributions in his discussion of the nuts-and-bolts problems of actually writing, publishing, and marketing one's own work in the shrinking market for the "vanishing frontier." Anyone who has seen a course syllabus destroyed by a "Temporarily Out of Stock" invoice from Ace, Bantam, or their cohorts knows the terrible reality of Kelton's article. Critical and popular perspective both are shaped by

what is or is not marketed. If legitimacy in *belles lettres* has anything to do with the availability of the text, Mr. L. L'Amour, not a Texan, is certainly gaining incredible stature. Kelton's concern ought to be a major one for the academy.

Section IV, "THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE" provides views of the "geography" of our Texas-Mexican writings. Rolando Hinojosa-Smith and Thomas Rivera, artists both, write about "The Writer's Sense of Place" and of "The Establishment of Community," Rivera offers sections from several of Hinojosa-Smith's works *(Estampas del Valle* and *Korean Love Songs)* as portraits of the communal voice. He defends the Mexican-American community voice seen by some critics as a flaw. "The writer speaks from the community, by characterizing members of the community, thus extracting wisdom, advice, and counsel from it." Other contributions in this section are by Americo Parades, Ramon Saldivar, and Jose E. Limon.

Sections V and VI, "THE TEXAS MISTIQUE" and "THE SIXTIES AND BEYOND," are attempts to forecast the future of Texas letters. Literary expression in the media of film and television are discussed as are literary influences on popular culture. Essays are by the editors and Gene Burd. Carol Marshal interestingly treats "Images of Women in Texas Fiction" who "try to live out the fairy tale motif, in which the fair princess is rescued by the handsome knight and taken away to live happily ever after."

The book closes with a selected annotated bibliography organized according to the sections of the book. The listing is a good beginning point for anyone interested in further study.

What *The Texas Literary Tradition* does best is to provide a frame or focus for further considerations of Texas prose. Risking a "provincialism," one might say that most of the contributions are pretty down-to-earth. There is a refreshing lack of pedantry and empty academic "structuralizing" in the presentations. The contributors are to be congratulated for their sense of audience, the editors thanked for their attempt to order the array of critical evaluations and for inviting comment from the artists themselves.

Of course, no study of this type can be inclusive. But even given McMurtry's admonishment to Texas writers to give up the "bucolic essay," the sesquicentennial conference should invite a major Texas writer who has appeared in the *Observer* and in University of Texas Press trade books. Certainly Elroy Bode, ignored in these last proceedings, would take time from his secondary school classes in El Paso to receive some of the attention he has earned.

Lee Schultz
Stephen F. Austin State University

John Bell Hood and the War for Southern Independence. By Richard M. McMurry. (The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, KY 40506), 1982. Notes, Index. P. 239. $19.50.

Fighter, soldier, general - John B. Hood, "the gallant Hood of Texas," figured prominently in the rise and decline of Confederate fortunes. This biography portrays not so much his battles or his troops but, as a biography should, his life. Also understandably, the book covers his entire life but concentrates on corps and army command in the ill-fated Army of Tennessee. It persuasively portrays him as a younger man of the self-romanticized, post-1830s South who brought both the strengths (gallantry, dash, combativeness) and the weaknesses (inattention to detail, lack of thorough planning) of self-styled knightly culture to the exercise of command.

Within its acknowledged limitation of there being no corpus of Hood papers in which to center the work, this is, far and away, the best biography of him to date. It is an important work from one of the best American Civil War historians of this generation, Richard McMurry. Whether in smiling at his tongue-in-cheek exaltation of Georgia Militiamen as "stalwart" and "sturdy" or in savoring his penetrating analyses of Hood's achievements and shortcomings throughout the war and of the Southern high command in the Atlanta Campaign, we look forward to further studies from this able and productive scholar, especially on the Georgia Campaign and the war in the Western Theater.

Richard J. Sommers
U.S. Army (Military History Institute)

Robert E. Lee. By Jefferson Davis and Alexander Stephens. Edited by Colonel Harold B. Simpson. (Hill Junior College Press, P.O. Box 619, Hillsboro, TX 76645), 1983. Photographs, Appendices, Selected Bibliography, Index. P. 121. $10.00

This book republishes two separate magazine articles about R.E. Lee written almost a century ago by the former president and vice president of the Confederacy. Rescuing these little-known but interesting pieces of prose, Harold B. Simpson provides an introduction and explanatory notes for each article.

Of the two articles, the one by Jefferson Davis (twelve pages long; posthumously published in *The North American Review* in 1890) is more thoughtful and insightful. As Simpson notes, Davis and Lee knew each other all their adult lives — as cadets at West Point, while Lee was superintendent of the Military Academy and Davis was secretary of war in the 1850s, and, of course, while each made important contributions to the Confederacy.

Stephens' essay (thirteen pages long; published posthumously in the *Southern Bivouac* in 1886) is shallow and superficial. It is one of many postwar works contracted for publication by the vice president, whom Simpson calls "Little Ellick" rather than "Little Aleck," the more widely cited nickname.

While some readers will regret that Simpson's bibliographical citations accompanying the Stephens article are not as thorough as the ones for the Davis essay, they will still congratulate the editor for returning to print these two assessments of General Lee by the Confederacy's top civilian leaders.

Joseph G. Dawson III
Texas A&M University
at Galveston

The History of the Great Class of 1934. By Haynes W. Dugan, 1982. P. 344.

A group if 856 young men from varied backgrounds and circumstances descended upon College Station during the first year of the Great Depression (1930) to enroll in A&M College. Four years later 255 of them were graduated and went out to make their mark in the world. During their days as cadets and students they formed bonds that would last a lifetime, evidenced by their holding a class reunion each year since 1956.

Haynes W. Dugan, a member of the class and former public relations man for General George Patton, undertook the task of writing the story of this class. Questionnaires were sent to all living class members, student newspapers and yearbooks of the 1930-34 period were thoroughly researched, and significant events in the history of A&M and the United States during 1930-1982 were reviewed in order to compile this 344 page volume.

The book is divided into four main parts: (1) campus life to graduation, (2) graduation to World War II, (3) World War II, and (4) the Post World War II era. Information concerning the people who made up this class in terms of their activities during each of these periods is presented.

Anyone who has been associated with Texas A&M will benefit from reading this volume. Experiences will be relived and new insights will be gained concerning the Corps, the traditions, and the role of the land grant institution. Those not too familiar with A&M can receive a real inside story from this detailed presentation.

Charles W. Brown
Stephen F. Austin State University

Wildlife and Man in Texas: Environmental Change and Conservation. By Robin W. Doughty. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843), 1983. Bibliography, Index. P. 246. $16.95.

Early Texas settlers confronted an incredible largesse. Clouds of pigeons, ducks, and geese blackened the skies, and herds of buffalo blackened the prairies. An energetic hunter was sure to bag a deer for supper in most parts of the state if he started out an hour before sundown. *Wildlife and Man in Texas* is a chronicle of the continuing destruction of game populations and habitats on the nineteenth-century Lone Star Frontier, followed by an analysis of efforts, largely in the twentieth century, to restore wildlife to its former abundance. Fortunately the expansiveness of the subject matter makes up in part for the dreariness of the incessant killing.

It would be hard to do a better job than the author does in describing nineteenth-century man-wildlife relations in Texas. Since trail drivers, sodbusters, and explorers did not carry statisticians with them, the figures and trends reported by the author are at best approximate. Anecdotal autobiographical and journalistic sources provide most of our information on the various frontier wildlife annihilations. The author's account of twentieth-century wildlife management and restoration is, by contrast, more accurate (including statistical tables and biological reports) but less fascinating. The final chapter, "Trends and Prospects," says nothing whatsoever about clearcutting, strip mining, water pollution, acid rain, or the extent of urban sprawl. It should be rewritten for subsequent editions to include these important factors.

Pete A.Y. Gunter
North Texas State University

Crime of the Century, The Kennedy Assassination from a Historian's Perspective. By Michael L. Kurtz. (The University of Tennessee Press, 293 Communications Bldg., Knoxville, Tenn. 37916), 1982. Photographs, Notes, Bibliography, Index. P. 291.

In this study historian Michael L. Kurtz has examined the records and evidence of the assassination of John F. Kennedy and joined those who have held that the Warren Commission's Report was incomplete, inaccurate, and biased. After studying the various sources and analyzing the Alfred Zapruder film, frame by frame, he concluded that there was, indeed, a conspiracy, shots were fired from more than one direction, and more than one person was involved.

As for Lee Harvey Oswald, the writer thought that he might or might not be guilty but many of Oswald's movements did not coincide with the sequence of events outlined in the Warren Report. He

offered the speculation that a look-alike double confused the tracing of Oswald's movements before and during November 22, and deliberately set Oswald up as a "patsy."

There are, however, many questions concerning the evidence presented and the conclusions reached. When blown up, the 8 mm. Zapruder film was so fuzzy and unclear that it would be difficult to prove anything from it. Also, people do not react in a predictable manner when shot so the violent, convulsive movements of President Kennedy did not necessarily prove that he was shot from both the rear and the front. Further, there were hundreds of people on or near the bank on the right of the parade route but no one actually saw a person fire a rifle there. There were eye witnesses to the shots from the Book Depository Building.

The solution that Kurtz proposed is intriguing and possible but rather far-fetched. Among the suspected conspirators he has listed Castro-Cubans, anti-Castro groups in the United States, or perhaps elements of an organized crime syndicate. He concluded that the principal conspirators escaped and their identity will probably never be known. To accept Kurtz' thesis the reader would have to reject completely the Warren Report. It is doubtful that this volume, well-argued though it is, will change many minds about the tragedy in Dallas.

Robert S. Maxwell
Stephen F. Austin State University

Drawing Power. By Robert F. Darden. (Baylor University Press, CSB 547, Waco, TX 76798), 1983. Illustrations, Appendices, Notes and Bibliography. P. 105, $24.95.

Author Robert Darden, currently the entertainment editor of the *Waco Tribune-Herald,* presents the first biographies of three talented and influential cartoonists who for over seventy years distilled facts and opinions for the editorial page of the *Dallas Morning News.* The book presents a study of the lives and works of artists John Knott, Jack "Herc" Ficklen, and Bill McClanahan. Their careers parallel virtually the entire scope of journalism and cartooning in Dallas and Texas from the early 1900s when Knott was hired by the *News,* through 1976, when Ficklen retired.

The author makes a strong case for the importance of political cartoons in a free society and argues that political cartoons offer a unique perspective unavailable elsewhere of the changing facets of political and cultural life. As far back as the 1870s "Boss" Tweed of the powerful New York political organization understood the power of the political cartoon when he demanded: "Let's stop them damn pictures. I don't care so much what the papers write about me — my constituents can't read — but damn it, they can see pictures."

Darden not only effectively chronicles the lives of these three important cartoonists but also compares their styles, originality, and personal and political beliefs. The methods of selecting topics for editorial cartoons varied among the three artists. For example, during Knott's tenure with the *News* the cartoon was normally based on the lead editorial and Knott submitted his work prior to publication for approval by management. After Knott retired (1957), Ficklen and McClanahan saw the end of this "assigned editorial" era and were given the freedom to draw on whatever ideas came to mind without reference to editorial policy or content.

This attractive and lively coffee table book is illustrated with nearly 100 examples of the works of these award winning artists. These cartoons alone make the book a valuable addition to the libraries of collectors and historians alike.

J. David Cox
Stephen F. Austin State University

American Profile 1900-1909. By Edward Wagenknecht. (The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, Mass. 01004), 1982. Photographs, Index. P. 376. $22.50 Cloth; $10.00 Paper.

Edward Wagenknecht, emeritus professor at Boston University, is one of the most prolific students of American culture and literature. He has over forty monographs and edited works to his credit. Some of his contributions to scholarship are outstanding, and his mastery of biography is impressive. *American Profile 1900-1909* is Wagenknecht's personal attempt at a synthesis of culture and society in the first half of the progressive era. His essays on such diverse subjects as politics, publishing, business, education, and the arts are supplemented not only with the interpretation of other scholars but also with his own first-person reminiscences. While these insights into the beginning of the twentieth century are entertaining and sometimes enlightening, the lack of footnotes and the abundance of unclearly credited quotations are quite confusing.

American Profile is a loosely constructed and at some times disjointed collection of essays. Wagenknecht has included three principal types of essays in the work: political biography, centering around Theodore Roosevelt; cultural and institutional histories, featuring individuals who advanced business and culture of the period; and a collection of short but lively biographies, termed "representative sketches." A heavy reliance on individual biographies is not the most effective methodology for constructing a social history. Especially hard to accept is the idea that such figures as J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Edison, Helen Keller, John Singer Sargent, and August Saint-Gaudens are"representative figures of the time."

American Profile is intellectual history attempting to be social history. Despite its weaknesses as a social chronicle, it does have value. This volume provides insights into the arts and styles of the day and the prominent personages who made these values standard. The book is an interesting and well-written work which will be of interest to many historians and general readers but will be of less value to specialists in progressive age America.

M. Edward Holland
Oklahoma State Archives

Ozark Baptizings, Hangings, and Other Diversions: Theatrical Folkways of Rural Missouri, 1885-1910. By Robert K. Gilmore. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK 73019), 1984. Photographs, Appendix, Notes, Bibliography, Index. P. 264. $14.95.

The human need for entertainment, diversion, and relaxation is well exemplified in this study of one aspect of life in the Ozarks between 1885 and 1910. Robert K. Gilmore has assembled a broad-ranging view of folk entertainments from extensive interviews, letters, diaries, and newspaper clippings of the period. These he has carefully organized into general categories which include chapters on literary events, school programs, religious gatherings, local dramatic productions, box-and-pie suppers, picnics, and a variety of other activities. The combined picture reveals a population of eager, intelligent, and energetic people thirsting for social relationships and capable of creating a rewarding lifestyle for themselves in spite of their semi-isolation from the mainstream of American social and cultural activities.

The author is at his best in describing the ritual of the box-and-pie supper and in his discussion of the debates, readings, and monologues of which the "literaries" were composed. Here, while retaining a researcher's objectivity, he verges on recreating the events through verbal pictures that take the reader back through time to the small communities in the Ozark mountains. It is at these moments that his work is a discussion of folkways at its best. Unfortunately, the title of the book is somewhat misleading, for the discussion of baptizings and hangings is found in no more than five of the 264 pages.

The book is well designed with easy to read type on non-glare paper and thirty-one well-chosen full page illustrations. The appendix is composed of twenty-three transcripts of interviews conducted by the author. These are of value not only for the factual material included but for the manner of expression as well. The author has

carefully noted his sources throughout and a very adequate index has been provided.

W. Kenneth Waters
Stephen F. Austin State University

The Last Campfire. By Barney Nelson. (Texas A&M Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843), 1984. Illustrations, Photographs, Index. P. 171. $12.50.

C.L. Sonnichsen's observation in a 1950 publication about modern ranching that a cowboy has "about as much chance of becoming a cattleman as a rustler has of getting into Heaven," was (and remains) mostly accurate. During the course of his research, however, Professor Sonnichsen apparently never encountered Ted Gray. Gray, a Texas cowpuncher still in his 20s, was battling seemingly insurmountable odds to save a half interest in a mortgaged herd from a killer drought in the early 1950s. That he eventually emerged triumphant from this classic confrontation to become a successful cowman and bank director seems almost unbelievable. But readers soon learn to expect the remarkable in *The Last Campfire,* Barney Nelson's fine biographical/autobiographical treatment of Ted Gray's life.

Growing up around Jacksboro on the eve of the Great Depression, Gray admired the look and the manner of the few old cowpunchers and ranchers who still inhabited the region. Not anxious to follow the plow as did his father, Gray struck out on his own at the age of fifteen to "make a hand" among the cowboys of the West. Gray slowly climbed the ladder of responsibility from cowhand to wagon boss to ranch manager and finally to ownership of his own land and livestock. The fascinating account of his education in the saddle smells of burned hide and choking dust and creaks authentically like saddle leather and bowed legs. But *The Last Campfire* is much more than a collection of twice-told tales from another stove-up cowboy.

Ted Gray has something more to say to us. His life, in a very real sense, embodies the American Dream and the traditional American values of hard work, long hours, gritty determination, and unflinching honesty. His philosophy inspires and captivates without resorting to maudlin sentimentality. Seldom has the oral tradition been better utilized in a published work.

The author's introductory and explanatory text at the beginning of each chapter plays an important, if somewhat subdued role, in enhancing the reader's understanding of Gray's extended monologues which follow. Only rarely will the reader become bogged down by detail or repetition or lost in historical time and space. Those few occasions could have been mitigated by a few additional reference points and an appropriate map locating important landmarks mentioned in the text. Although Gray's story is full of detail, inquisitive readers will wonder at the scant mention of his family life and particularly of Addie, his wife of nearly forty years. There is so much good about this book, however, that it almost seems petty to criticize its minor

shortcomings. Within the real of range literature *The Last Campfire* is a pleasant addition and a significant contribution to the understanding of both the myth and the reality of the Texas cowboy and cowman.

B. Byron Price
Panhandle Plains Historical
Museum

The Matamoros Trade. By James W. Daddysman. (Associated University Presses, 440 Forsgate Dr., Cranbury, NJ 08512), 1984. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. P. 215.

This was originally a doctoral dissertation at the University of West Virginia in 1976. Researched in the mid-1960s, the bibliography only lists eleven items published between 1967 and 1973, and none after that date. Daddysman could have profited from a number of studies completed after the mid-1960s by the Hannas, Dr. Crook, A. Blumberg, H. Blumenthal, K. Schmidt, S. Bernath, C. Hale, P. Kennedy, R. Weinert, J. Fenner, and my study of U.S.-Confederate-Mexican relations. He missed a number of earlier, useful items: R.B. McCormack, J. Dabbs, N. Ferris, G. Casebier, and Robt. Brown. It is also not clear why Daddysman titled his book MATAMOROS TRADE rather than Lower Rio Grande trade. The latter title more accurately describes the region covered in the text and draws less attention to the author's lack of use of Spanish sources.

Daddysman frequently selects older, ill-considered sources for background materials. For example, he cites H. Herring's general history of Latin America to describe the state of Mexican politics in the mid-nineteenth century rather than a competent study of Mexican society in the nineteenth century. He used Pratt and Donaldson to describe broad diplomatic relations in the American Civil War years rather than newer and fuller studies.

The chief problems for readers will probably lie in the fact that, beginning with the third chapter, Daddysman's book tends to be repetitive. For no apparent reason, Daddysman opted for a "topical" rather than a chronological order, leading to recurrent covering of familiar ground and repetition of certain material. If the reader overlooks these rather important flaws, the narrative will supply a reasonably reliable and readable description of the complex problems of the Lower Rio Grande during the Civil War years.

Thomas Schoonover
University of SW Louisiana

The Guns of Port Hudson, Volume One The River Campaign (February-May, 1863). By David C. Edmonds. (The Acadiana Press, P.O. Box 42290, USL, Lafayette, LA 70504-2290), 1983. Photographs. Notes. Index. P. 271. $15.95.

"Port Hudson," author Edmonds observes in his preface, "was more than just a town." It was "an event—like Shiloh or Bull Run or Vicksburg" that made national headlines in 1863. Volume I of Professor Edmonds' two-volume history of the Fort Hudson campaign is the chronological narrative of Admiral David Farragut's attempt to run the high-cliffed Confederate batteries at Port Hudson and, once past the Rebel shelling, patrol the Mississippi up to Vicksburg. Described in diary form, *The Guns of Port Hudson* is footnoted abundantly and indexed and historically sound; and yet, for the armchair historian suckled on the wizardry of a Bruce Catton, Professor Edmonds' first volume reads like a team of oxen, shank-deep in bayou mud, pulling a forty-pound howitzer out of the ooze.

Admiral Farragut, a central character in the midnight of Saturday, 14 March, is alternately heroic and plagued by self-doubts. Edmunds' Farragut "fears Washington's politically motivated actions and fuzzy judgments." (p. 225); in the same breath, Admiral Farragut ridicules General Nathaniel Banks, who along with the Conqueror of New Orleans was to fulfill General Winfield Scott's Anaconda Plan (the opening of the Mississippi to Union trade and travel), as a vacillator and glory-seeker. "Old Commissary General" Banks, like many officers on both sides of the Potomac, rose through the military chain of command by swiftly and successfully heeding the political winds of Massachusetts. Neither man completely understood or trusted the other. Added to this professional wariness a communications system very nearly untenable and a veritable nest of Southern sympathizers (especially in Baton Rouge and New Orleans) and Major General Franklin Gardner's infantry brigades at Port Hudson and the reader may have some idea of the setting for Farragut's midnight dash to safety.

Edmonds' narrates, one begins to feel, is one faded newspaper clipping at a time. Ever the omniscient kibitzer, the energetic author does his best reporting when he introduces a chapter with a quotation from one combatant's memoirs. *Then* there is the feeling of close quarters and the smell of gunpowder. Much, however, of *Port Hudson* reads like Fenimore Cooper's most romantic conventions. Witness the scene in which "Disaster Number Two," the ambushing of two of Banks' most reliable and flamboyant officers, is depicted:

> More than that, the ladies of New Orleans would be terribly distressed. Clark, in their opinion, was not like those other spiteful Yankees, who lied, stole, and cheated on their wives. He was a true gentleman, who exhibited compassion, understanding, and

> leniency. Never mind that he was merely fulfilling the General's wishes. He was also tall, handsome, and charming. Yes, they would miss him, and he would be the topic of conversation during afternoon tea, when all those little vignettes about him would buzz from ear to ear, especially that story about his declining an offer for tea because he knew the hostess would have been ostracized for willingly socializing with a Yankee, and he had not wished to compromise her honor. Now there was a true gentleman. Surely, Southern blood must have flowed in his now cold veins. Poor Colonel Clark. Even if he was a Yankee. (p. 68).

One of the Civil War's ironies, of course, was the sectionalism that split families and twisted sympathies. As Edmonds observes, "Farragut, a Southerner, was about to lead a powerful fleet against a mighty Confederate fortress commanded by a Northerner." (p. 97) Indeed, the Admiral had prepared for all contingencies, right down to placing the gunboat *Albatross* alongside the Admiral's flagship in case the *Hartford* was grounded on the river's numerous sandbars. Though the Hartford escaped damage, the "Cromwell of the Fleet," the steam frigate *Mississippi* ran aground and the Confederate batteries sank her. Eventually, Farragut's fleet anchored at New Orleans and Banks marched his troops to Vicksburg and the armies of Grant.

Edmonds' research in Volume Two of the Port Hudson campaign will recreate the "investment, siege, and reduction." (p. xvi) With a more polished style and erudition and perhaps cleaner galleys, smoother sailing is in the offering.

Robert C. Davis
Richland College

This Land, This South: An Environmental History. By Albert E. Cowdrey. (University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, KY 40506-0024), 1983. Illustrations. Notes. Index. P. 236. $23.00.

Northernizing the South. By Richard N. Current. (The University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA 30602), 1983. Notes. Bibliography. Index. P. 147. $12.50.

In important respects, these books are unfortunately, perhaps unfairly, paired. Carefully crafted studies by able historians, both are works of mature synthesis that draw heavily on secondary sources and yet provide important insights into Southern distinctiveness. Both are compact, range widely over time, and examine the ways in which progress or modernity have shaped the region and its identity. Beyond these superficial similarities, however, there is little common ground.

Of the two, Richard Current's is the most traditional book and, to this reviewer's mind, the least engrossing and significant. He has treated an old subject in an imaginative and novel way, but his tale

is nonetheless a generally familiar one to historians of the South. Prepared for the 1982 Lamar Lectures series at Mercer University, *Northernizing the South* is organized into three chronological chapters that examine abiding Southern efforts to resist, and occasional Northern efforts to promote, the "Yankeefication" of the South during the two centuries since the 1780s. Although conceding the durability of the "idea of the South," Current sides with those relatively few Southerners — Hinton Rowan Helper and Howard W. Odum, among them — who have minimized the cultural differences that separate South from North. From the beginning, he notes, Southern spokesmen have emphasized the region's uniqueness and have portrayed the North (by which they meant the rest of the country) as a threat to the South's distinctiveness and cultural independence.

In Current's view, these "Southernists" have overstated the case, for in "basic values . . . Northerners and Southerners (with few exceptions) have been typically American all along." Whatever differences there may have been in the days of Jefferson, he asserts, have been eroded gradually by such modernizing forces as urbanization and industrialization. Amid the ebb and flow of interregional population shifts after World War II even the central difference — pervasive and institutionalized white supremacy — lost its salience as race relations in Dixie came to approximate those elsewhere in the nation. But if he discounts the actuality, he does not doubt the perception or Southern uniqueness nor the resolve of Southerners to resist northernization. This brief volume begins with an interesting biographical sketch of its transplanted Yankee author and ends with a useful bibliography. From first to last it is both a thoughtful restatement of the persistance of the idea of regional differences and a suggestive reminder that those who would understand the South must understand its enduring fear of nationalization.

Cowdrey's *This Land, This South* is a pioneering study, the first full-scale environmental history of the Southern region. Examining the "interface between culture and nature," he describes some five hundred years of interaction between land, people, and climate in the physical setting of the South. His concern throughout is to demonstrate how "man and land have shaped each other in a little corner of the world." As other reviewers have noted, Cowdrey wrestles perhaps too briefly with the idea of the South and seems merely to presuppose regional peculiarity. He does not adequately address the question of whether there is a "Southern environment," one sufficiently different from that of the larger nation as to be, in U.B. Phillips' words, "the chief agency in making the South distinctive." He is sensitive to the relationship between human culture, on the one hand, and soil, landforms, climate, flora, and fauna, on the other. Yet he does not fully explore the influence of the region's natural

environment on the region's history, nor does he offer a satisfying environmental explanation for the persistence of Southern particularism. His accomplishment is major, however, and his book ranks as one of the most important to appear about the South in recent years.

In ten gracefully written, roughly chronological chapters, Cowdrey traces the processes of change and interaction from the formation of "Indian society," through the development of the "row-crop empire" and the transformations of boll weevil, depression, New Deal, and war, to the metamorphosis of South into Sun Belt. Within each chapter he describes the travails of people, plants, animals, and disease in order to show "what the South was like" at a given time. Historians will find his topical analyses of agriculture and the exploitation and conservation of wildlife and other natural resources both instructive and fascinating. But Cowdrey's signal feat is his examination of cholera, hookworm, malaria, pellagra, smallpox, typhoid, tuberculosis, yellow fever, and the other afflictions and contagions that make up the Southern disease environment. No other scholar has written so comprehensively and authoritatively on man's encounter with the disease entities that have burdened the region so gravely.

In sum, both books are useful, but Cowdrey's is a path-breaker.

Neil McMillen
University of Southern Mississippi

North Louisiana. Volume One: To 1865. Essays on the Region and It's History. B.H. Gilley, Editor. (McGinty Trust Fund Publications, Ruston, LA 71270), 1984. Illustrations. Index. P. 214.

For anyone interested in a succinct statement of what distinguishes "North" Louisiana from "South" Louisiana, *North Louisiana . . . To 1865* admirably serves that purpose. Although admittedly omitting some topics of discussion in this regional analysis, the editor of this volume of essays, B.H. Gilley of Louisiana Tech, has brought together eight articles by well-known North Louisiana scholars that portray the settlement and development of the region roughly north of Alexandria from the early nineteenth century to the end of the American Civil War. In doing so, the essayists have clearly defined the cultural chasm which separates North Louisiana (pronounced Luz-e-ana) from South Louisiana (pronounced Louie-zee-ana).

Gilley has drawn on the local history expertise of three colleagues from Louisiana Tech, John D. Winters (for two essays), Philip C. Cook, and Morgan Peoples. These were wise choices, not only for the expertise involved but also because a balanced view of North Louisiana history might best be seen from the hill country of Lincoln Parish.

Cook's article on the first three decades of settlement in the upland frontier combines well with Winters' essay on the settlement of the delta northeast and Peoples' piece on the region's antebellum politics. Together, they tell the story of the passage of the southern flank of the American frontier through the northern part of Louisiana. Their efforts indicate how the Anglophone cultural wave, swiftly moving from east to west, dashed itself on the ramparts of the Latin Gulf Coast, particularly Southern Louisiana.

French and Spanish endeavors, for over a century, to contain the Anglophone tide east of the Mississippi River led the Latin powers to develop a series of outposts on the banks of that river and its tributaries. E. Russ Williams of Northeast Louisiana State University opens the volume with a discussion of the Spanish attempt to settle Northeastern Louisiana, particularly through the efforts of Jean-Baptiste Filhiol at Fort Miro (present-day Monroe). Like other Spanish outposts farther upriver, Fort Miro was inundated in the cultural flood unleased by the Louisiana Purchase. Williams' article poignantly points up, once again, the fact that Latin human resources in the mid-Mississippi Valley were no match for the Anglo-Saxon thrust westward.

It is in the essay by William A. Poe, of Northwestern State University, that the reader discovers the ideological basis for the cultural chasm dividing the Louisianas — religion. Poe states the case in unequivocable terms: "The most comprehensive and overriding legacy from Europe, shared by all Protestant groups, was Anglo-Saxon fear and distrust of Roman Catholicism. Anglo-Saxons in the northern parishes clung to this legacy with a tenacity not unlike its sixteenth century form." (p. 115) It has been religion, therefore, not political or economic considerations that has dictated different lifestyles in the two regions of the state. It has been upon this rocky shoal that the Protestant fundamental and the Latin *laissez-faire* philosophies have futilely churned for nearly two centuries. Politically and economically speaking, there has always been but one Louisiana; religiously speaking, there are two.

Hubert Humphreys, recently retired from LSU-Shreveport, presents a brief history of transportation in the Red River Valley, particularly in connection with the removal of the Great Raft by Henry Miller Shreve. Humphreys' article, together with that on people of mixed racial stock in the Natchitoches area, by Gary Mills of the University of Alabama, clearly demonstrates, at least to this reviewer, that Northwestern Louisiana is somewhat different from the rest of North Louisiana. In that region, the Red River has served as a cultural link between North and South Louisiana. With better means of transportation, after the removal of the Raft, Red River plantation owners forged strong political and economic ties with their

southern counterparts. Indeed, as Peoples notes, large parts of the two regions were at one time in the same congressional district. Mills, in recounting the story of the Metoyer family, really points up the cultural insularity of the Natchitoches area, one of several weak spots in the cultural levee that divides Louisiana.

Finally, John Winters rounds out the volume with an excellent synopsis of the Civil War in North Louisiana. In doing so, Winters indicates what so many Civil War historians have concluded, the Southern cause was lost because of the lack of men, material, and mental acumen.

North Louisiana . . . To 1865 is one of the McGinty Trust Publications of Louisiana Tech. This is a recent publishing venture, and the fact manifests itself in this volume. While it is difficult to regularize stylistic differences of several authors, it would appear that greater editorial effort should have been made in this direction. There are, also, several typos throughout the volume, but perhaps the most serious one occurs in Peoples' article when it is stated that Alexander Porter organized the Louisiana Whig Party on his plantation near "Franklinton." (p. 146) Franklinton is the parish seat of Washington Parish. Alexander Porter's plantation "Oak Lawn" was near Franklin, parish seat of St. Mary Parish. Finally, this reviewer remains puzzled as to why these "local" historians did not make greater use of parish archives for their documentation. Courthouse records remain one of the great sources for local and regional history in Louisiana.

Whether one considers himself a native of "Luz-e-ana" or "Louie-zee-ana," the fact remains that *North Louisiana . . . To 1865* spells out the basic cultural similarities and dissimilarities of the state's two regions and thereby affords the reader a better understanding of the historical consequences of this corner of America's melting pot.

Glenn R. Conrad
Louisiana History

White Columns in Hollywood. Reports from the GWTW Sets. By Susan Myrick. Edited by Richard Harwell. (Mercer University Press, Macon, GA 31207), 1982. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. P. 334. $14.95.

This is a book for laughter. Its lines arrive in delightful columns, wired home by reporter Susan Myrick to four Georgia newspapers from January to July, 1939. As the technical adviser on location during filming of "Gone With the Wind," Mrs. Myrick learned and shared much. She dispensed that knowledge with sincerity and mirth to her Deep South readers, who lived worlds away from the Hollywood dream factory.

Susan Myrick was a close friend of Margaret Mitchell, author of *Gone With the Wind.* Both women, in totally different ways, became centrally involved in the greatest Southern adventure in Hollywood history.

Writing "Straight from Hollywood" columns in her eyewitness prose, Susan Myrick calmed Southerners anxious because three of the film's four mayor stars were British. Fascinating details emerged in filming Old South behavior, costume, geography, culture, and speech. In delightful paragraphs we see how Ms. Myrick daily shared meals, first names, and endless practical jokes with one of filmdon's most famous casts. It remains miraculous that one of Hollywood's epic films was completed in merely six months.

White Columns ably reflects a remarkable person whose life and laughter spanned over eight decades. We are grateful for her exceptional contributions to professional journalism, and again to editor Richard Harwell. His entire career has nurtured so very well the life and literature of the Confederacy.

Staley Hitchcock
Union Theological Seminary

We Can Fly: Stories of Katherine Stinson and Other Gutsy Texas Women. By Mary Beth Rogers, Sherry A. Smith and Janelle D. Scott. Drawings by Charles Shaw. (The Texas Foundation for Women's Resources, P.O. Box 4800, Austin, TX 78765), 1983. Photographs. P. 184.

Katherine Stinson, the gutsy Texas woman of the subtitle, became the fourth licensed woman pilot in America in 1912, beginning her aviation career eleven years before Charles Lindbergh took his first flying lesson. A stunt flyer, she also set endurance and distance records, performing from coast to coast, in Canada, and in Europe. The early pilots had their own fan clubs and were "as popular as movie stars or sports heroes — and much more daring." In 1915, Stinson became the first pilot to do night skywriting, and the following year toured Japan and China as the first woman to fly in those nations. There were 25,000 people to welcome her to Japan.

Stinson's sister Marjorie could fly also. Known as "the flying schoolmarm," she taught military flying and gunnery techniques to World War I cadets in San Antonio, earning her own sidebar story.

The story of the WASPs (World War II Women's Airforce Service Pilots) is told, including the loss of their military flight careers as a class (December 1944 as the European war wound down) despite their individual accomplishments. America's women astronauts' stories are in the final chapter.

The book celebrates a potpourri of personalities. The roll call of heroic Texas women sounds out: Adair, Adair and Goodnight, Driscoll, Graham, Herzog, Idar, Jones, de Magnon, McCallum, Ride, Stinson, Zaharias and others. As athletes, crusaders, doctors, directors, astronauts, ranchers, and inventors, they soared. According to the introduction, all these "gutsy" ladies dared to dream extraordinary dreams, they had unusual self-confidence, they took risks, they overcame obstacles and personal disappointment, they persisted, and they had an impact on Texas.

We Can Fly was published in cooperation with The Texas Foundation for Women's Resources (P.O. Box 4800, Austin 78765). Although the integrity of the research is thus well-grounded, the usefulness of the study would be expanded if the volume were indexed.

Subject matter is interestingly and effectively presented, with ample visual enhancement permitted by the 8½ x 11 inch format. Both drawings and photographs are widely used throughout, many being full-page "bleed-offs." The photographs have been exceptionally well-chosen and presented.

Ouida Whitaker Dean
Nacogdoches, Texas

Civil War Recollections of James Lemuel Clark, Including Previously Unpublished Material on the Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, in October, 1862. By James Lemuel Clark. Edited and with an Introduction by L.D. Clark. (Texas A&M Press, Drawer C, College Station, TX 77843), 1984. Photographs. Index. P. 124. $12.50.

Luke and the Van Zandt County War. By Judith MacBain Alter. (Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth, TX 76129), 1984. Illustrations. P. 131. $10.95.

Two small volumes which deal with the Reconstruction period in East Texas but which otherwise have little in common are James Lemuel Clark's *Civil War Recollections of James Lemuel Clark* and Judith MacBain Alter's *Luke and the Van Zandt County War.* The first is primary material that brings fresh detail to the controversial story of the Great Hanging at Gainesville, and the second is a novel written primarily for juveniles. Each is an important addition to East Texas historical literature.

Clark was a contemporary of the Great Hanging, and his father was one of its more than forty victims. From various recollections Clark scribbled down in his latter years, his grandson, L.D. Clark, has provided this edited account of those experiences along with a thirty-nine-page Introduction that puts the memoirs in perspective. The result is a third important piece on the Great Hanging, to be

shelved beside Thomas Barrett, *The Great Hanging at Gainesville . . .* (1885) and Sam Acheson and Julia Ann Hudson O'Connell (eds.), *George Washington Diamond's Account of the Great Hanging . . .* (1963). It is well done throughout.

Julia MacBain Alter, while writing for one audience, will likely attract two. Juvenile readers everywhere will benefit from this folksy account of life in and around Canton, Texas, during that county's unique Reconstruction experience. The fictitious central characters are themselves youngsters. The tale is based on real situations in which the citizenry of Van Zandt County was at odds with more conservative Southern attitudes during radical Reconstruction — especially with those of the Ku Klux Klan. Adult readers will also find the book of interest. Written in a warm and lively style, it reflects well the place and the times.

Frank H. Smyrl
The University of Texas at Tyler

Texas : A Sesquicentennial Celebration. By Donald W. Whisenhunt, Editor. (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 23066, Austin, TX 78735), 1984. Photographs. Index. P. 439. $19.95.

As another evidence that Texas is fast approaching its sesquicentennial mark, twenty Texas historians have decided to celebrate this event by writing essays on various aspects of growth and development in this state. Guided by editor Don Whisenhunt, a former professor at the University of Texas at Tyler turned vice president at Wayne State College in Nebraska, eight historians have covered lengthy periods of time beginning with the Indians and progressing through modern-day Texas. Twelve others have specialized and therefore have discussed briefly such subjects as railroads, highway development, conservation, agriculture, minorities, religion, education, violence, energy sources, and apparel manufacturing.

Taken as a whole, this work attempts to present state history in a "serious, but readable, fashion for Texans" (p. vii), while at the same time providing a "balanced presentation" (p. viii). And in the main, these scholars have been successful. Although some of the time periods are far too broad for a twenty-to-thirty-page essay to cover, the research is sound and the writing clear. Such recognized historians as Archie McDonald, Bob Calvert, Bob Maxwell, Don Hofsommer, Paul Carlson, J.B. Smallwood, Earl Elam, Margaret Henson, and Ralph Wooster add luster to this work, and the younger, lesser known scholars demonstrate their research abilities on their specific areas of expertise. As a result, *Texas: A Sesquicentennial Celebration* is a creditable addition to Texana.

Ben Procter
Texas Christian University

Texas Cowboys. Memories of the Early Days. By Jim Lanning and Judy Lanning, Editors. (Texas A&M University Press, Drawer C. College Station, TX 78743), 1984. Photographs. Bibliography. P. 233. $15.95.

During the Great Depression, the Works Projects Administration — Federal Writers' Project collected narratives of personal life histories throughout the United States. Among the most interesting of these are the interviews with former slaves and cowboys in Texas. Although many of the slave narratives have been published, until this volume appeared, the cowboy narratives had not been available to the general public. This volume publishes, for the first time, thirty-two cowboy narratives from the more than 400 reviewed by the editors of the volume.

The narratives published provide an account of Texas cowboys' perceptions of life on the range. Intertwined with the accounts are photographs of cowboys taken by Erwin E. Smith of Bonham, Texas, 1905 until 1915.

The narratives selected are intended to be representative of life on the Texas range. Most of the cowboys worked long, hard hours, received little pay, liked adventure, and were always broke. Nevertheless, the interviewees appear to be satisfied with their lives as cowboys, and they freely talked about the interesting events in their lives. They admired, and therefore sought to become, good ranch hands, and most of them believed they had succeeded in doing so.

The authors are careful to include minorities who were cowboys — both Negroes and Mexicans — and to reproduce accounts of women who lived among them. The volume makes interesting reading and presents a favorable picture of the Texas cowboys.

Bill Ledbetter
Cooke County College

They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Towards Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900. By Arnoldo DeLeon. (University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713), 1983. Notes, Bibliography, Index. P. 153. $19.95.

This book delivers an uncompromising message: "Those who have traditionally dominated Texas history have published works that reveal, in fact and interpretation, serious flaws, deficiencies of research and detectable bias, especially concerning the relationship between whites and Mexicans." In short, Texas history has been written from a viewpoint of racial bigotry.

Professor Arnoldo DeLeon is not the first historian to say this, but few, if any, have said it quite so well or as completely. Drawing

upon a wide range of secondary and primary sources, and using techniques derived from psycohistory, he traces the racial attitudes of Anglo Texans towards Mexicans from first settlement to the twentieth century. He believes that prejudice preceded encounters. Thus, white bigotry came before contact with people of color and caused the automatic definition of other races and ethnic groups to be one of inferiority. That attitude encouraged not only bad history, but "placed few social restrictions on a long tradition of violence which ultimately aided and abetted white Texans in keeping ethnic minorities subordinated."

DeLeon develops this theme by describing first the racial stereotype that Anglos drew of Mexicans. Tejanos were described as a racially impure (mixed-blood), who were typically lazy, brutal, shiftless, sly, unpatriotic (the Civil War and the Spanish-American War), immoral, depraved and treacherous, in other words, subhuman. These prejudices permeated all strata of Anglo society and consequently sanctioned individual and institutional persecution and degradation of Mexicans. In psychological terms, this process is called projection: A society justifies its brutality and inhumane actions towards minorities by designating that group as subhuman, and, consequently, its base instincts can only be controlled by brutal, societal force, either institutional (the Rangers) or voluntary (white-capping and lynching). The brute-Mexican image justified the lawlessness of Anglos. DeLeon elaborates upon that theme in the second part of the book. He concludes his study by pointing out that Anglo-Americans clearly do not hold the same image of Mexican-Americans that they once did. Prejudice remains, however, and the author suggests that part of that stems from earlier racial stereotypes of Tejanos as "Not the white man's equal."

This well-written, thin volume stands ably on its own merits. It never purports to compare white attitudes towards Mexicans with similar views held towards other minorities. It never suggests that Anglo stereotypes of Tejanos apply to other states. Yet, in my opinion, the monograph works best when considered in conjunction with DeLeon's first book, *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900* (1982), and with other historians who owe so much to Winthrop Jordan's seminal study, *White Over Black* (1968). Indeed, DeLeon acknowledges his debt to Jordan. This collective body of historical literature is forcing scholars to explain partially social relationships between whites and people of color in terms of blatant prejudice. Consequently, this book, and those like it, should encourage historians to write finally a multicultural/racial/ethnic history of a very hetrogeneous state.

Robert Calvert
Texas A&M University

Citizen Soldiers: Oklahoma's National Guard. By Kenny Franks. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK 73019), 1984. Photographs, Drawings, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. P. 234.

Written by a peace-time militiaman from Oklahoma, *Citizen Soldiers* recounts the history of the Oklahoma National Guard from its inception in 1890 to the present. This quarto-sized volume attempts to do justice to one of the most outstanding military forces of the era. First mustered into service for duty on the Mexican border in 1916, the Oklahoma militia was merged with the 36th Division, Texas National Guard, and served in France in World War I. In the early 1920s these citizen-soldiers were organized along with contingents from Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona into the 45th Division, and called the Thunderbird Division. After World War II the division became an all-Oklahoma outfit.

The author goes into much detail about the other components representing Oklahoma, including the post-World War II Air National Guard. It was during World War II that the 45th Division gained its greatest fame. Landing in Sicily in July 1943 along with the two regular Army Divisions, the 1st and the 3rd, the 45th Division spent several weeks clearing the island of Germans. On September 10 units of the 45th Division came ashore at Salerno, Italy, in support of the 36th Texas Division, which was the first American contingent to assault Hitler's Fortress Europa. This fact the author fails to note.

The Thunderbird Division had a distinguished record in the European fighting as a part of the American 6th Corps in both France and Germany. Returned to state control after World War II ended in 1945, the 45th Division again saw active duty during the Korean War. In the early part of 1952 the 45th Division found itself in battle, and the names "Porkchop Hill" and "Heartbreak Ridge" took on personal meaning to those in the ranks when the 45th defended the "Jamestown" line, the center of resistance. By 1968 the 45th Division was reduced to a brigade.

Kenny Franks, a native Oklahoman, has done good service in portraying the state's organized military history from its beginning, and the University of Oklahoma Press has produced a sturdy and handsome volume.

Robert L. Wagner
Austin, Texas

The Second Texas Infantry: From Shiloh to Vicksburg. By Joseph E. Chance. (Eakin Press, P.O. Box 23066, Austin, TX 78767), 1984. Photographs, Appendices, End Notes, Index. P. 216. $13.95.

The Second Infantry Regiment was a Confederate group raised

mostly from Harris, Houston, Chambers, Robertson, Brazos, Galveston, Burleson, Lee, Gonzales, Wilson, and Jackson counties. Drilled and provisioned in Houston, they were placed under General Earl Van Dorn's command in the Trans-Mississippi Department in March 1862. The Second Texas fought well at Shiloh, Corinth, and Vicksburg, and left the flower of its volunteers dead on those battlefields.

After the collapse at Vicksburg Confederate General J.C. Pemberton reluctantly authorized a furlough for the Second Texas Infantry and in the late summer of 1863 the regiment returned piecemeal to Texas. Reorganization and return to the battle line was the goal pursued in Houston but the Second Texas was destined never to cross the border of Texas again. Garrison duty in Galveston, and for many lack of pay and death from fever, was the fate of most members of the regiment until Lee's surrender.

The author, a professor of Mathematics at Pan America University, has done a service to the history of the Trans-Mississippi Campaign, generally overlooked in the Rush to feature the units of the Army of Northern Virginia and its glamorous personnel. Illustrious Texas names are associated with the Second Texas: Ashbel Smith; Colonel W.P. Rogers; and Sam Houston, Jr., to name a few. The Second Texas Infantry was, however, more the story of ordinary men who laid down their lives for a cause in which they believed.

Robert L. Wagner
Austin, Texas

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Archie P. McDonald
Robert S. Maxwell
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